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At Tongataboo we noticed just the very reverse: in the presence of the aged the younger persons observed the most respectful silence. . . .

In the Friendly Islands marriage is general, and, except the chiefs, they seem to have only one wife. It is said at Tongataboo, that adultery is punished with death. There, and at the Marquesas, no infant murders are allowed; but, contrariwise, they are fond of their children, and take pleasure in a numerous family. Though at the decease of Tibo Moomōoe [Tui Kanokupolu Mumui], and during his illness, some cruel and inhuman practices are mentioned, yet nothing comparable with the horrible human sacrifices at Otaheite. In another feature also they differ, as old age is as much respected at Ohitahoo and Tongataboo as it is neglected at Otaheite.

Elsewhere (66, p. xlix) Wilson remarks: "The women were far less immodest [than those of Eastern Polynesia]; but the men were more generally addicted to the pepper-root draught, here called kava."

The manner in which an establishment set up by a newly married couple may be augmented is illustrated by the following example. When a Hihifo (western Tongatabu) chief married a Hahake (eastern Tongatabu) woman, some of the wife's relatives came to live with the couple at their home in Hihifo. When a child was born still more came. They would look after the pigs, and the plantations. They did more for the couple than did the husband's relatives, although they too were supposed to aid. This is a manifestation of the superiority of the husband's side of the family to the wife's.

RANK WITHIN THE FAMILY

Rank within the Tongan family involves two fundamental factors, sex and age. Of the two, sex is unalterable and may transcend age. A woman is always superior in rank to her brother regardless of seniority and it follows from this that a woman's children are always superior to her brother's children. After sex, relative age becomes the determinant for rank. Generally speaking, older sisters outrank younger sisters and older brothers outrank younger brothers.

The father's side of the family is the chiefly (*eiki*) side, the mother's side of the family the commoner (*tua*) side.

A child must respect his father and his father's brother who are in many ways tapu to him; but to his father's sister (*mehekītanga*) he must pay even greater respect. It is she who is really supreme in the family. Her person, food, clothes, and bed are tapu; she often controls the matrimonial destinies of her brother's children. The respect which is shown her is extended also to her husband. In other words, a man marrying a woman has the same sort of social superiority to his wife's brothers that the woman herself has. It is the woman's relatives who frequently serve her and her husband. A striking example of this principle is revealed in a curious practice. While eating, the people of Niuafoou Island turn their backs to

the breeze blowing from Niuatoputapu Island. This respectful manner of eating is assumed because Niuatoputapu is "chief" to Niuafuou: the chiefly house of Niuafuou once supplied a wife for the chief of Niuatoputapu. 604 602 264

It is tapu to touch the father's head or hair, to touch him while he is eating, to sleep on his bed or pillow, to partake of his food or drink, and to play with his belongings. The result of infraction, sickness and perhaps early death for the child, might however, be overcome by the father stroking the child's throat, head, or stomach; that is, the seat of the trouble that was believed to have arisen from an infraction. The tapu is weakened today. An informant of high rank who had been educated in Australia said he never touched his father's head, but that he would not hesitate to let his own son touch his. 593 784 [826] [755] [178]

A youth observes all the prohibitions with his father, but may take all sorts of liberties with his father's father. Thus he may wear his father's father's *vala* (garment), or eat his food. Toward the mother's father, the same license prevails. Collocott has described the privilege of eating the *fono* (relish food) which the grandchildren enjoy at the kava circle (15, p. 30). 603

The relation of the children to their mother is one of freedom from restraint and tapu. A Tongan explained this to me on the rationalistic basis—the child must have unrestrained access to its mother for the sake of nourishment. Towards the mother's sister the child's attitude is the same as towards the mother. The maximum of freedom, however, is found in the child's behavior towards the mother's brother and the mother's father. The child is *faku* (above the law) to his mother's brother. 593 [604] [603]

If a woman of high rank marries a commoner, their offspring treat the father and his brothers and sisters as though they were chiefs. Respect to the father and his siblings is enjoined regardless of rank, for relative to his offspring his rank is always higher, as head of the family. These same offspring of a woman of rank and of a man of commoner clay are perfectly free to act as they please toward their mother and her siblings. Towards their mother's brother they stand in the relation of *faku*, even though their father is of inferior rank. 593 604 565

It is apparent that because of these relations between sex and age, no two individuals in a Tongan family are identical in rank. The situation is similar to that in the Japanese family, in which, as stated by Hearn (29, p. 80), "every person, from the youngest child up to the grandfather, was subject to somebody else." 593 [171]

The exactness with which members of a family are graded in rank is well shown by the following example: Two girls, Fakatoumafi and Ika, are 605 561 562

of younger brothers has in the course of generations become further and further removed from the patriarchal head of the family, as represented by a continuous line of successive eldest sons. The Prince Consort-Tungi emphasized that there are no commoners in the absolute sense of the word. 602 554 565

In Tongan society there is but one chief of a group at a time, a title being held by but one individual and dual chiefs being unknown. It is inconceivable that two brothers could be simultaneously chiefs of equal rank. 622 554

THE HEAD OF THE FAMILY

The head of the family is usually a man, the oldest male. The designation for him is *ulumotua* (ancestor), although one informant gave the word *pule* (ruler). Upon his death the *ulumotua* is succeeded by his younger brother or his oldest child (son or daughter). It is said that sometimes the brother and oldest son cooperate in supervising the family. There seems to have been no family council to select a new head. Everyone knew who was next in rank and he automatically succeeded to the position upon the death of the patriarch of the family. It was stated that the *ulumotua* might dispose of family property or the property of individuals if he saw fit. It is likely, too, that he held the lives of family members in his hands. The sacrifice of one of the younger sons of the Tui Kanokupolu Mumui in 1797 by Tukuaho, an older son, would seem to point to this. 592 175 782 647

The *ulumotua* was sometimes a woman. Thus the sister of the late Tui Haa Teiho is the head of the family of these lords of Tungua Island and of Haa Teiho in Tongatabu Island. She was *ulumotua* also during her brother's life time. Undoubtedly personality plays a prominent part in determining whether a man or his sister controls the family. The sister of the late Tui Haa Teiho impressed me forcibly as an individual of pleasing yet resourceful character. To the present Tui Haa Teiho she is *mehekitanga* (paternal aunt), and to her, therefore, he owes the greatest respect.

Upon the death of her father, this woman became *ulumotua* to her brothers and younger sister and to her father's younger brother's children. Her brothers' and sisters' children and grandchildren all look up to her as family matriarch (more correctly "female patriarch"), as do also her cousins through her father, except the children of her father's sister (*mehekitanga*) who are her superiors in rank. The children of her mother's brothers and sisters are also under her jurisdiction. All of these constitute the family of which this woman is the head. Needless to say, they are not all of one lineage, for lineages in Tonga are patrilineal. 596 613

Another example came to my notice in 1920 in the island of Foa, Haapai, where a Mrs. Goedicke, Tongan wife of a Caucasian and sister of Job Helu, mayor of the village of Lotofoa, controlled the destinies of her brother's children by virtue of being their paternal aunt and *ulumotua*. 604

and may talk, but not familiarly. With aged siblings the tapu is somewhat relaxed. One informant said that a brother may cook food for a sister, but not the sister for the brother because that would look as though they were married. If a man came in from the bush very tired his sister might procure some food for him, but she might not nurse him when he was ill. A brother would not avenge the rape of a sister; the father or mother's brother would do that. [593] [605] [784] [684] [604]

Some curious abrogations of the brother-sister tapu came to light. In one family a girl named Ika was so named by her paternal grandmother after her maternal grandmother and she thereby assumed the status of the grandmother, or perhaps of a mother, to her own brother. She can approach him freely, can tend him in sickness, and generally be with him without restriction by the usual tapu. In another family Tangakinakovi, daughter of the chief Veehala and wife of Luani, being childless, was allowed to adopt Taliauli, her full brother, all brother-sister tapu being disregarded. [593] [784] [553] [605] [597]

Cross-cousin marriage, which seems to have been common, is a violation of the brother-sister tapu. Yet a decision reached in the family councils will do away with this tapu and a man and woman who could not come into close proximity to each other by their own initiative may be married by the will of those who have the ordering of them. [605] [784] [582]

There are at times evasions of the tapu. Brother and sister sometimes do covertly converse. It is considered very bad form for anyone to notice this. During my sojourn in Tonga a man came to his *tuofefine* and asked for his shirt, which in all probability she had washed for him. A European standing near overheard the man ask and jocularly remarked that the girl did not have his shirt, but had given it away. The pair fled in dismay, for being *tuongaane* and *tuofefine* to each other, they had no right to converse. The European committed a serious breach of etiquette in noting that they were conversing. [593] [605] [784] [521] [576]

Although the observances described are those of today, they undoubtedly give a picture of the past as well. Mariner (41, vol. 2, p. 147) has the following to say: [593] [605] [784]

Every chief also pays the greatest respect towards his eldest sister, which respect he shews in an odd way, but it is according to custom, viz., by never entering into the house where she resides; but upon what exact principle, except custom, Mr. Mariner has not satisfactorily learned.

THE FAHU

As the sister is superior in rank to the brother, so also are her children, both male and female. Moreover, the sister's children are superior to the brother's children. The sister's children are *fahu* (Fijian *vasu*) to their mother's brother. They have the privilege of taking their uncle's goods, [604] [605] [425]

also the goods of his children, either during his life or after his death. Even one of the uncle's wives might be appropriated. At the wedding of a man's child, his sister's children may help themselves to the presents. The brother's children must show respect (*fakaapaapa*) to the sister's children. The institution of *fahu* is a one-sided, non-reciprocal affair. The victims never have a chance to retaliate, but they exercise similar privilege towards their own mother's brother and his offspring. Towards one's *fahu* only respect and acquiescence must be shown. To appropriate the property of the *fahu* would be a serious breach of custom.

One chiefly informant remarked to me that he was lucky in having no closely related *fahu*, as he had no sister. He had, however, female cousins, whose children were *fahu* to him to a certain extent, but not like a real or great *fahu*. One such remote *fahu* visited this chief while I was with him, his father's brother's daughter's daughter. She did not have the privilege of a near *fahu* but must ask his permission before taking his property.

Radcliffe-Brown (48, pp. 543, 553, 550) records for Tonga that

... the sister's son is permitted to take many liberties with his mother's brother, and to take any of his uncle's possessions that he may desire. And there also we find the custom that, when the uncle makes a sacrifice, the sister's son takes away the sacred portion offered to the gods, and may eat it.

... The daughter's son must be honoured by his grandfather. He is "a chief" to him. He may take his grandfather's property, and he may take away the offering that his grandfather makes to the gods at a kava ceremony. The mother's father and the mother's brother are the objects of very similar behaviour patterns, of which the outstanding feature is the indulgence on the one side and the liberty permitted on the other.

The daughter's son may intervene in the sacrificial ritual in the same way as the sister's son, the behavior between the mother's father and the daughter's son being much the same as between the mother's brother and the sister's son.

Liberties and jocular remarks may be indulged in with relatives through one's mother's brother, except where the brother-sister tapu interferes. Such liberties and remarks cannot be reciprocated, for the very reason that respect towards the father and his relatives is definitely enjoined, and especially towards the father's sister (*mehekilanga*) and her offspring.

Modern Tongan dictionaries describe the *fahu* as "one that is above the law," and the verb *fakafahufahu* as "to act as an outlaw." In actual practice the *fahu* (or *ilamutu*, to use the term of relationship) often did appropriate the property of his mother's brother (*tuasina*), who as a rule did not protest. At the kava ceremony the *fahu* ate the relish presented to his mother's brother. The grandchildren, also referred to as *fahu*, had the same privilege (15, p. 30).

All the sororal nieces and nephews of a man were *fahu* to him, although not of equal rank. The oldest daughter of his oldest sister was the most privileged of the several *fahu* and was often designated as the great *fahu*. 604

The institution of *fahu* is established in the lower strata of society as well as in the higher, but it reaches its most extravagant development among the higher chiefs. 604
Anciently it was not extensively practiced among commoners, for fear of punishment for imitating chiefs, and, perhaps also, for alienating goods that a chief might claim.

There seems to have been a limit to the exactions of the *fahu*. A high chief said that if even the Tamaha, the *fahu* of the Tui Tonga, tried to exact things inordinately, she would be cried down. This same chief remarked that *fahu* does not actually elevate the *ilamutu* in rank, but does give him exceptional privileges. 604
Moreover, he expressed the opinion that the sister is not actually higher in rank than the brother, but that, through the respect and affection shown her she merely appears to be higher. This chief's explanation of the origin of the institution of *fahu* attributes it to the affection of the *tuasina* (mother's brother) for his *ilamutu* and to the desire of the *tuasina* to let the people see what a fine fellow his *ilamutu* is. Therefore, if the *ilamutu* comes to the uncle's house, he tells his children to prepare food for him.

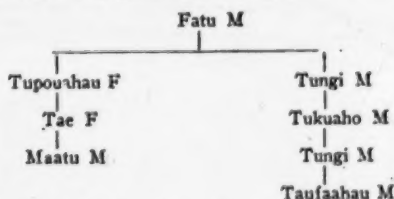
This conduct may be motivated by the factor whose operation has been set forth succinctly by Professor A. R. Radcliffe-Brown in a letter written to me on August 21, 1923:

The behaviour pattern of mother's brother and sister's son is determined very frequently by regarding the mother's brother as a kind of male mother. (In Tonga and here in South Africa he is actually called "male mother.") Since the mother is the person from whom care and indulgence is expected, the same may also be expected from the mother's brother by his sister's son, but in an even greater measure, since they are of the same sex. Inversely the father's sister is a sort of female father, and where, as in Polynesia and Africa the attitude to the father is one of respect and obedience, it is this same attitude that the brother's son must adopt to his father's sister, but very definitely emphasized by the difference of sex. So we get licence towards the mother's brother and excessive respect towards the father's sister associated together in Polynesia and Africa, because they are both the product of the same factors, factors that only seem to be completely active in patrilineal societies. This matter of the behaviour to the uncle and aunt is of importance in relation to cross-cousin marriage. Any family objects to the loss of its members (daughters) and this resistance is shown in many different ways in different parts of the world. It is, I think, a universal factor in primitive society. But the mother's brother, since he must indulge his nephew, will more willingly part with his daughter. There are other factors involved in the cross-cousin marriage, but this, I think is an important one.

A striking example, if true, of the attachment of a man to a relative who was probably his sister's son is afforded by the tradition of the murder of the Tui Tonga Havea I, who reigned about 1350. Havea was assassinated while bathing and his body cut in two. Only the trunk was 173
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recovered. When Lufe, the chief of the dead Tui Tonga's mother's family, learned of the king's death, he said: "The Tui Tonga is dead. He has died a bad death, for he is cut in two. Come and kill me and join my buttocks and legs to the Tui Tonga's trunk, so that the corpse may be complete." His relatives obeyed him. They slew him to make the Tui Tonga's body complete and then buried the remains.

The *fahu* relation while not exclusively limited to the mother's brother (tuasina) and his sister's children (ilamutu), may continue to subsequent generations, as the following genealogical diagram indicates.



Maatu has the right of *fahu* to Tungi the elder, to Tukuaho, and to Tungi the younger. Maatu and Tungi the younger are cross-second-cousins. Tukuaho was Maatu's mother's mother's brother's son, while Tungi the elder was Maatu's mother's mother's brother. To Taufaaahau Maatu is not *fahu* because Maatu stands in the relation of "father" to him.

Frequently the right of the *fahu* is even more extended, and may give a chief of high rank the right to help himself to any property he wishes in an entire district controlled by chiefs to whom he is *fahu*. For example, all of the living descendants of the Tui Kanokupolu Tukuaho, who was assassinated in 1799, are said to be *fahu* to the chiefs and commoners of the lineage Haa Ngata Motua of the Hihifo district of Tongatabu. The reason for the *fahu* relationship is that Tukuaho's mother was Lepolo, the daughter of Laakulufoohake, who was the son of Atafakahau, who in turn was the son of Kaumavae, the son of Ngata (the eponymous ancestor of the Haa Ngata Motua and the first Tui Kanokupolu, who held office in the first half of the seventeenth century. In other words, Tukuaho's mother was of the Haa Ngata Motua, and being "sister" to all of the Haa Ngata Motua chiefs, her son and his descendants are *fahu* to the Haa Ngata Motua chiefs and people. Thus the present Tui Kanokupolu Charlotte is *fahu* to the Haa Ngata Motua. The principal other living *fahu* of the Haa Ngata Motua are (a) Tungi, the prince consort, who is *fahu* through both his father and his mother, and consequently ranks highest among the *fahu*; (b) Haamea, the son of the present Ulukalala, who is *fahu* through both his father and his mother, but who is of lower rank than Tungi's mother. Tungi and his mother are also *fahu* to the Haa Ngata Tupu of Vavau.

As the lineages (*haa*) are patrilineal, a *fahu* usually does not belong to the lineage in which he exercises his right. In Cook's time (1777) the Tui Lakepa Latunipulu, of the Haa Fale Fisi, was *fahu* to the Tui Tonga Pau, as was also Latunipulu's sister the Tamaha Moungalakepa. Cook (19, vol. 1, p. 414) says of Latunipulu: "Latoolibooloo assumed the privilege of taking anything from the people, even if it belonged to the king." Speaking of Latunipulu's little son in Eua, he says: "The son of the greatest Prince in Europe could not be more humoured and caressed than this little 'Tammaha was.'"

Although the *fahu* owes his position primarily to his mother, nevertheless the *fahu* whose father is a great chief wields greater influence than the *fahu* whose father is a petty chief or commoner, even if the mother of each *fahu* is of exalted rank.

It is quite possible that cross-cousin marriage in Tonga is genetically connected with the *fahu* concept, for it is usually the mother's brother's daughter whom a man marries. In other words, he may make demand in his capacity of *fahu*.

ADOPTION

Adoption was and is exceedingly common in Tonga. Many children are adopted by near relatives who have no companion or heir, particularly children are adopted by aunts. Tongan genealogies give examples of children adopted by their paternal aunt (*mehekitanga*), such a child being called "*koa tama to he mehekitanga*." (For an example see 26, p. 146.) In general, a child adopted by a woman is known as her "child to her husband."

The status of an adopted child becomes completely altered. The child is no longer his father's or mother's child; he is the child of the person who adopts him. However, according to one informant, the child's father is still tapu to him. If the paternal aunt adopts a child, he ceases to act towards her as toward an aunt, but as toward a mother. Elsewhere is recorded the adoption of a baby brother by his grown sister and the consequent abrogating of the brother-sister tapu.

According to the high chief Ata of Tongatabu, an adopted son may supersede a real son as heir to the father's title. Ata (who was childless) stated that if he and his wife were to adopt the wife's brother's son, that individual would become his heir even though he had an older son. It is seldom that a child receives his father's name, but it is customary to give an adopted son the name of his adoptive father.

Adoption may vary from a truly earnest relation in which the child is taken into the bosom of the family, to mere formality. So well established is the custom that even today Europeans are adopted in much the manner

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The Tui Tonga greeted the great *fahu* (the Tamaha) by placing her foot on his head or by touching his nose to her foot. In the presence of any of his *fahu* he must abstain from eating (65, p. li). He greeted the *kaingaofi* with the nose kiss. The matapule kissed his foot. The *kainanga-fonua* suffered the Tui Tonga's foot to rest on their head. This was supposed to cure those of this class who were sick. The *tamaioeiki* were too low to touch the Tui Tonga. If sick, they might be cured by having the abdomen of the afflicted one rubbed with the bowl in which the Tui Tonga washed his hands.

CEREMONIAL FUNCTIONS OF THE TUI TONGA

That the Tui Tonga was regarded as a true god by his subjects seems doubtful. That he was regarded as of semi-divine nature is certain, for the Tongan belief is that he was of semi-celestial origin, the progenitor of his line being the sky god Tangaloa Eitumatupua. That he was a god living upon earth all of my informants denied. Collocott, however, records (16, p. 79) a lament or funeral piece for a deceased Tui Tonga, in which he is called a god.

My informants knew of no worship of the Tui Tonga after death, but only of worship of the gods proper. The priest Kautai scoffed at the idea of the Tui Tonga being either a priest or a god. He characterized him as the highest male chief and hence the most sacred male of the country.

Wilson (66), however, states that on occasion, certain deities were represented by certain chiefs; although the Tui Tonga is not specifically mentioned, he may be referred to in connection with either the deity Pulotu Katoa or the deity Fatafehi (whom I have failed to identify). The deity Taliai Tupou was connected with the Tui Kanokupolu. Wilson's statement follows (op. cit., pp. 276, 277):

Every district has its own deity; and each family of note has one, whom they consider as their peculiar patron. Talliataboo [Taliai Tupou] is the god of Ahefo [Hihifo], which being at present the most powerful, he is accounted a great warrior. Futafaihe [Fatafehi] presides over Mooa [Mua] and Doobludha [Pulotu], Cartow [Katoa] over the district of Ahoge [Hahake]; each of which deities are on certain occasions represented by the several chiefs of those districts.

Mariner (41, vol. 2, pp. 78, 79) states that high respect and veneration for the Tui Tonga were shown by the following observances: (a) *inasi* ceremony: offering to him of first fruits, about October; (b) peculiarity of his marriage ceremony; (c) peculiarity of his burial ceremony; (d) peculiarity of mourning for his decease; (e) non-circumcision, unless he went to other islands for the operation; (f) not tattooed; (g) peculiarities of speech, used in regard to the Tui Tonga.

Moungalakepa (1773), daughter of Sinaitakala III and Tui Lakepa (?) Fehoko-moelangi of Nukulau, Fiji. Probably buried in the Langi Mounga on Tungua Island, Haapai. Tui Tonga Tui Pulotu II (35). 644
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Latufuipeka, daughter of Nanasipauu and Tui Lakepa Latunipulu, brother of Tamaha Moungalakepa. Tui Tonga Pau (36). 551

Fakahikuouiha or Amelia (died 1852), daughter of Nanasipauu and Tui Haa Teiho Haveatungua. Buried in a langi on Tungua Island. Tui Tonga Maulupekotofa (37).

Four Tamaha had the Tui Lakepa as fathers, two had the Tui Haa Teiho. 644
It is reported that only these chiefs might beget the Tamaha. The brother of the Tamaha became the next Tui Lakepa or the next Tui Haa Teiho. Thus Takavaha, brother of Latufuipeka, became Tui Lakepa. Faotusia-Fakahikuouiha, brother of Fakahikuouiha, became Tui Haa Teiho. These titles are said to have been originally established by the Tui Tonga.

The Tamaha was the great *fahu* of the Tui Tonga. To her he made obeisance, as did inferiors to him. Cook, in 1777, tells of the Tui Tonga Pau and the Tamaha Moungalakepa, to whom Pau paid the same homage that he received from his own subjects, embracing her feet with his hands. The Tui Tonga did not make obeisance to her brother the Tui Lakepa Latunipulu but did refrain from eating in his presence, thus paying him the respect due him as a lesser *fahu*. Cook states that the term *arekee* (*ariki*) was only applied to Pau and to Latunipulu. 643
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To her mother (the Female Tui Tonga) and to her mother's brother (the male Tui Tonga) the Tamaha used the term *huhu*, the royal equivalent of the ordinary Tongan term *fae* (mother). Like *fae*, which is extended to the mother's brother in the term *fae tangata* (male mother) *huhu* is extended to the mother's brother also. The reciprocal of *huhu* is said to be the ordinary term *tama* (child). [601]

The term Tamaha seems to have been loosely applied to all of the children of the Female Tui Tonga begotten by the Tui Haa Teiho or the Tui Lakepa. However, only one was appointed to the preeminent office of Tamaha and that one was always a woman. The Latunipulu whom Cook met was a male Tamaha and Tui Lakepa; in fact Cook (19, vol. 1, p. 413) speaks of four contemporary Tamaha, Latunipulu and three women. 644

Veasi (Veachi) of whom Wilson and Mariner speak so favorably was a Tamaha, the brother of Tamaha Fakahikuouiha (Amelia) who died in 1852. Faotusia-Fakahikuouiha, another brother, became the Tui Haa Teiho. Veasi appears not to have had a title, but in his role of unofficial male Tamaha he was exempt from tribute paying.

A reported example of a person of even more exalted rank than the Tamaha is that of Tamatauhala (name or title?) a son of a Tamaha by a Tui Tonga. It is said that there has been but one such in the history of the country. The names of his parents were not learned. The Tamaha's genealogies mention no such person. [554]

The goods (*koloa*) at the place where the new Tui Kanokupolu sat became the property of Ata; the *vala* worn by the new ruler became the property of Motuapuaka and Lauaki. 643

Anciently, the new Tui Kanokupolu slept at Leoleo (near the *malae* in Kolovai) the night between the *fakanofa* and the *pongipongi tapu* (morning ceremony). There the Tui Kanokupolu was exhorted as to his duties by Veehala and Ata, one at a time. The next day he returned to the *malae*, and held the *pongipongi tapu* (see page 106).

THE POWER OF THE TUI KANOKUPOLU

From the time of Ngata on the power of the Tui Kanokupolu seems to have waxed, culminating in the complete absorption of the offices of Tui Tonga and Tui Haa Takalaua by the Tui Kanokupolu George I Tupou. But not until the death of Laufilitonga, in 1865, did the reigning Tui Kanokupolu assume the prerogatives of the Tui Tonga and then only with the customary official observances that made him the legal Tui Tonga.

To what extent the Tui Kanokupolu served the interests of the Tui Tonga, their overlords, is difficult to estimate. Some names are perhaps significant—the sixth Tui Kanokupolu was Maafuotuitonga (Fire or Weapon of the King of Tonga), and the name of the first Tui Kanokupolu Ngata (Snake) was probably due to his success in ruling Hihifo.

It is said of Tukuaho that, though he ruled the chiefs with a high hand, he continued taking food and goods to the Tui Tonga, for he was afraid the Tui Tonga might deprive him of his position. According to an aged Tongan informant, daily offerings were carried from the Tui Kanokupolu to the Tui Tonga, and on the occasion of an important entertainment (*kalo-anga*) all of the Tui Kanokupolu or Kauhalalalo chiefs brought offerings for the Tui Tonga. So far as I know, there was no reciprocation by the Tui Tonga. The relation of the Tui Tonga to the Tui Kanokupolu was that of *fahu*, the Tui Kanokupolu being usually his mother's brother or mother's brother's son. [604]

The Tongan conception of the Tui Kanokupolu was a "working king," the one who supervised planting and other activities for the real king or Tui Tonga. The first Tui Kanokupolu Ngata, who was sent to Hihifo by the Tui Haa Takalaua to supervise agriculture and fishing, passed the produce to the Tui Haa Takalaua at Fonuamotu, then to the Tui Tonga.

With the seventh Tui Kanokupolu the name Tupou appears, showing a probable connection with Taliai Tupou, the patron god of the Tui Kanokupolu. It is likely that this god increased in prestige as did his protégé.

The first attempt of the Tui Kanokupolu to absorb the higher office of Tui Haa Takalaua is said to have occurred while Mataeletuapiko was in office. Mataelehaamea, the son of Mataeletuapiko, sought to be appointed Tui Haa Takalaua, but was prevented by his father. He afterwards became the fourth Tui Kanokupolu. A little later the two offices were combined in

The inequalities of rank are regarded not as the result of rule imposed by conquerors, but as the result of rules of primogeniture within the family and of differences in ability of chiefs. As one informant put it, "Some men possessed ability to rule and became rulers. The strong man became king, the wise man became the *matapule*, the weakling became the commoner." No doubt this statement is a rationalization, but the belief in community of origin of the three social classes is prevalent in Tonga to-day. If the country was ever overrun by conquering immigrants, all memory of their coming has been effaced. There is, however, ample evidence to show a continual dribbling into the country of people from surrounding islands. [167]

There is probably less attachment of commoners to their chiefly relatives to-day than there was in the past. In fact, with the absence of internecine warfare and with the freedom bestowed by constitutional government, the people may move about with greater liberty and need not adhere closely to their related overlords. However, there is still a strong attachment to the chiefs and to the land and even with the present system of leasing land the tendency is for a family to remain attached to the soil, the tract which a father leased being likewise leased by one of his sons. [423] [427]

To understand the system of apparent servitude which prevailed in Tonga, three features of family relationships should be kept in mind: (a) the superior rank of sisters; (b) the superior rank of older siblings; and (c) the *fahu* idea. To the demands of the *fahu* of a great chief, that chief and his dependants were obliged to accede. Thus all of the descendants of the Tui Kanokupolu Tukuaho are *fahu* to the Haa Ngata Motua chiefs and to the commoners of that lineage. In other words the whole of the district of Hihifo, Tongatabu, is obliged to yield its best to the great *fahu* of the chiefs of the district, who here is the Prince Consort Tungi. 565 593 604

INDICATIONS OF RANK

The relative rank of individuals is visualized in seating arrangements, particularly in the kava circle, but also in the house, both at meal times and on other occasions. 554 576

The head of the household, the family patriarch, called *ulu* or *kainga* (*ulu*, head; *oe*, of; *kainga*, related) was accustomed to sit midway between the two house posts (fig. 2, a), at the end which he used as a sleeping chamber, facing the opposite end. This position was called *matuloki*. All other sitting places were called *lotofale* (inside house). If the head of the house ranked all his guests, he maintained his position. His highest ranking guest sat at his right hand and the next in rank at c. The positions a, b, c, were reserved for chiefs. *Matapules* would sit at the other end of the house. d. Commoners would not dare to sit in the house. If the guest should

that is, the precedence of a chief in the Tui Kanokupolu's kava circle might differ from his precedence in the kava circle of another chief. 276
574
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In the Tui Tonga's kava circle the wooden kava bowl (*kumete*) is designated as *tanoa*. On one side of the outer surface of the bowl is a little raised block (*taunga*), usually triangular, perforated and threaded with a piece of cord by which the bowl may be suspended when not in use. In the Tui Tonga's kava circle the bowl was so placed that the *taunga* was towards the president, a position called *fulitaunga*. In the Tui Kanokupolu's kava circle the *taunga* is towards the kava mixer, a position called *olovahaa*, because the space (*vahaa*) between two legs of the kava bowl is towards the president. 276
574
576
415

In splitting a large root of kava with axe or crowbar, in the Tui Kanokupolu's kava circle, the roots are placed towards the president, the branches away. In the Tui Tonga's kava circle the position was reversed. In counting baskets of food the Tui Tonga (Kauhalauta) people touched the first and merely pointed to the rest (14, p. 210). "The first one is the Tui Tonga's and he alone is chief." 276
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Food, as a relish (*fono*), is placed before the individuals in the kava circle. While of old, it apparently was eaten by the people to whom presented, at the present time it is removed and eaten by the *fahu* (sororal nephews or grandchildren). 276
574
264
178
604

When the Tui Kanokupolu arrives by sea in another country or in a distant province, his navigator, in the place of the regular *matapule*, must direct the activities of the kava circle. He serves in this capacity for three mornings, in addition to the kava drinking when arriving. After that *Motuapuaka*, or one of his family, resumes his duties in the kava ring. 276
574
484
643
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The following account by William Tungi, a grandfather of the present Prince Consort, relates the directions for the Tui Tonga's kava circle, said to have been formulated by Loau, the Tui Haamea, during the reign of the Tui Tonga, Takalaua, or immediately thereafter. 276
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These are Loau's directions: When the chiefs are assembled in the kava ring in the green of the Kauhalauta called *Faoamanafa*, on the left side [of the Tui Tonga] will be the Tui Faleua; on the right side [of the Tui Tonga] will be Tokemoana; Tafolo will sit at the turning in [*fasiatofi*] of the right side of the circle; Lomulahi will sit at the turning in of the left side of the circle; and the Tui Haa Teiho sits at the end [near the kava bowl].

It is forbidden to strike the wrong-doer at the kava drinking. There is a saying, "A sinner at the place of refuge." And it is forbidden to deprive the chiefs of the food portioned to them as relish (the carrying away of the relish), and it is loaded into carrying baskets. The relish food of the *matapule* may be taken away; and the younger brother may drink the kava. 681
622
164

The following account of the kava circle of the Tamaha is translated from a manuscript by Elia Malupo, *matapule* of the Tui Tonga:

though they opposed the move. A chief's *fahu* might share in the land of his deceased mother's brother if he wished. There seems to have been less value set on land anciently than at the present day.

From the standpoint of tenancy the tracts comprise (1) *tofa*, "hereditary" lands of the chiefs and modernly of certain matapules; (2) *api* (rendered *abbey* by some early writers), field either with or without an enclosing fence; (3) *api-kolo*, town lot—a modern development. The term *lotoa* (*ladore* of some earlier writers), designates a fenced enclosure smaller than an *api* and usually next a dwelling. A fenced *api* is called *lotoapi*.

The following anecdotes exemplify the Tongan attitude with regard to the sovereign's ownership of all land.

When parcelling out and confirming the tenure of the lands now held by the various nobles, King George I asked Ata (great-grandfather of the present Ata) where his hereditary lands lay. Ata replied that he had none, that all land belong to the king. The king then told him to take certain portions of the Hihifo district, Tongatabu, and to call his place of residence Kolovai. Formerly Kolovai was called Pangai and was the seat of the earlier Tui Kanokupolu.

A man named Lolohea parcelled out land on Foa Island among the people at the request of King George I. A piece called Pangai was left over. The king assigned this to Lolohea, saying: "It belonged to your forefathers."

The island of Koloa, Vavau, once the Tui Tonga's personal property, was given by George I to Toamotu, a chief, in reward for war services. There is a long series of similar allotments apparently based on ancient practice. Such allotments did not entail alienation of the land. It was still the king's, but was to be used by the subject to whom allotted. Even cemetery sites were bestowed by George I.

THE PERSONAL LANDS OF THE TUI TONGA

According to a list compiled for King George II by Tafolo, scion of the Tui Tonga family, tracts specifically set aside as personal lands of the Tui Tonga comprise 7 on Tongatabu Island, 12 on Lifuka Island, and 7 on islands in the Vavau group. There are similar personal lands of the Tui Kanokupolu.

Tui Tonga tracts in Tongatabu Island are: Fangaoneone in Mua, Utuleva in Mua, various tracts near Lapaha, Veifoa, Ualako in the Hahake district, Pipi, Haameneuli.

Tui Tonga tracts in Lifuka Island, Haapai are: Otufanga, Ahofaka-siu, Vainafa, Talaufanga, Vailupesias, Vaiola, Olovehi, Matamoana, Utulaaina, Finevalapililolo, Vakataumai, Nakolovou, all of which except Nakolovou are near Tongoleleka—a part of the modern village of Hihifo. Nakolovou is near the modern village of Pangai.

A chief's

son was never operated on alone but always with companions. There was no special tapu connected with operating on a chief's son. 881
622

The man performing the operation was called *faikaukau* or *faitefe*. He was not a chief's appointee. The only factor in determining who could be an operator was skill, involving such factors as a cool head, steady hand, previous experience, and that type of personality that tends to inspire confidence. The operator would never be the initiate's brother or cousin, but might be his father, uncle, or any other elderly man reputed for skill in the community. An informal council of interested fathers selected the operator who was to officiate. 881
304
[57]
[593]
[605]
[609]
[887]

Preceding the operation the boys bathed themselves thoroughly in the sea. This bath was called *fufulu*. After drying on a tapa towel, they were brought one at a time to the place of operation. This was usually situated outdoors under a large shady tree, the species of tree being of no importance. The spectators were the adult male relatives of the initiates. The rock, mat or large tree root on which each boy sat naked is called *hekehaka*. The operator sat on the ground in front of the boy in the usual tailor fashion of Tongan men. 851
[515]

The cutting instrument now used is a razor. Formerly it is said to have been a bamboo knife or sharp shell. A piece of unprinted or uncolored tapa (*fetaaki*) is now wrapped round and round the razor blade, leaving only the tip of the blade exposed. The following is a description of the operation: 842
[412]

A piece of bamboo was placed over the head of the penis, the foreskin drawn down over this, then the operator, with one quick stroke of the razor, or more if necessary, slit the foreskin throughout its entire superior length.

Then the operator chewed the leaves of a fern called *lau fale* and squeezed some of the juice of the masticated plant on to the incision. The cut foreskin being doubled back around the medial portion of the penis was wrapped with the leaves of *katakavalie* from which the large fibers had been extracted. The whole was well bandaged with unprinted tapa. A girdle of this material was passed about the waist and between the legs to hold the penis against the belly. The wound was dressed twice daily. 824
[752]

The boys, having all been operated on, were confined in a house together. No one might visit them, but their adult male relatives. Food was brought to them. They could leave the house only to defecate and urinate. The operator instructed them in the tapus they were to follow. They were told not to think of women. If one suffered from erection, he pulled hard at a piece of rope (called *tukutaopeanga*) suspended from the rafters and the erection left him. Other tapus forbade the eating of anything sweet, the drinking of anything but water, and only one cup of that a day, the eating of anything red, at the present day the eating of any tinned goods, the taking of a bath for five days and nights, and the performance of any heavy work or walking. 881
784
[831]
[262]

In urinating the patient squatted down on his left knee, the right knee high, the body bent low over the right knee, the weight of the body supported by the right hand, while with the left hand he served himself. This position prevented the urine from running back on to the erectly held penis. If it should run back on to the penis, a swelling is said to have resulted. This caused extreme pain and even loss of life. It was called *mimi* and the squatting position described above was called *mimifakatafifi*. 514
881

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189

On the morning of the sixth day the boys went out and bathed in the ocean. This bath was called *kaukautapu*. Each boy took off his own bandages and bathed without anyone's aid. When they returned to the shore the operator and two assistants met them and redressed and bandaged the boys in the same fashion as formerly. This bandage is said to have had no name other than *lalava*, or *kaihai*. 881 515 752

There followed a big feast, although the operator was furnished free food throughout the period. All the women ate by themselves; the men ate with the boys. The tapu was lifted and this fact was announced to each boy by his father or male guardian. A present of oven products (food), mats, tapa, and other materials was assembled by the fathers of the boys and presented to the operator. Other ovens were opened for the general feast in honor of the boys. No present was given them. Even if a boy died from the operation, as sometimes occurred, the father of this boy contributed his share to the present for the operator. The boy was always believed to have died because he broke some one of the tapus. After this feast, the tapus were resumed for four more days and nights. Bandages, like the first, were worn for two weeks after this feast. The tapus are said to have had no names. 881 574 264 784 593 430 761 784 752

MARRIAGE

Collocott (12) has published a brief account of marriage in Tonga, but it seems worth while to present my data here, as they are fuller in some particulars. 58 114

Marriages are classified as *feofaaki* (for love), *aleai* (arranged) and *fatongia* (duty), this last term applying only to cross-cousin marriages. To marry two wives at one and the same time is called *hamaua*. 581 595

Wilson (66, p. liv) states:

Polygamy is established, but adultery is punished with death.

The lascivious practices which are almost universal there (Georgian Islands) seem to be usually restricted here to common prostitutes of the lowest class. 837 684 548 171 837

The Tongan term for prostitute is *mutau*. It is perhaps to such a person that the term *finelangatotoa* (a woman who steals home from her paramour's house before the break of day) would be also applied.

The principal relative concerned with marriage plans of young people is the father's sister. She may often take upon herself the ordering of the marriage arrangements of her brother's children and may veto their plans of marriage and impose her own. A girl destined to become the wife of a chief wears two long tresses, one on each side of her head. 584 604 584 582 582

As mentioned by Collocott (12, p. 222) an oven of food (*veifua*) is presented to the bride by her brother. 585 543 431

The sororate (*tongipou*), following the death of the wife, was practiced in Tonga but the levirate was said to be infrequent. Cross-cousin marriage of a man to his mother's brother's daughters was common among chiefs, but rare among commoners. A girl who becomes the bride of her cross cousin is denoted by the term *kititama*. Marriage to identical cousins was regarded as improper. The only such marriage recorded was on Ata Island where were also a considerable number of cross-cousin marriages. 587 582 622 565

- 98-99: Man to father's mother's brother's son's daughter.
102-103: Man to father's mother's brother's son's daughter.
104-105: Man to mother's father's paternal half brother's daughter.
109-110: Man to mother's paternal half sister's son's daughter's daughter.
125-127: Man to father's sister's daughter.
134-135: Man to mother's brother's daughter.
165-166: Man to father's mother's sister's daughter's daughter.

In addition to the following marriages of blood relatives which the genealogy shows, there is one case of a man (14) marrying his stepmother (7) and one case of a man (13) marrying two sisters (12 and 16). Of the twenty-six marriages of relatives nine are of cross-cousins. Seven of the cross-cousin marriages are of a man to his father's sister's daughter, two to his mother's brother's daughter. There is one example of parallel cousin marriage (70-71).

The institution of the *vasu* evidently held with as much force in Ata as in Tonga proper, for informants said that of the two persons, Lauflitonga (mentioned above) and his sister Takumua, that Takumua was superior in rank and that her children were superior to those of her brother Lauflitonga. In fact, Lauflitonga's children had continually to go into the bush and secure food for the children of Takumua. Even to-day the descendants of Takumua rank higher than the descendants of Lauflitonga.

There were three gods recognized on Ata, two of them apparently from early times, one of them from about the middle of the nineteenth century. Faikavakisia, a male deity, had a sanctuary in the eastern part of the village of Kolomaile. The priest of the god is said to have borne the same name. Tui Tofua, presumably the well known Haapai god, had a sanctuary in the southern part of the town of Kolomaile. His priest was also known by the name of Tui Tofua. It seems likely that the introduction of the worship of this god may be attributed to Tameifuna, the Haapai colonist. From the present holder of the title of Leha, carpenter to the Tui Tonga, I obtained the following account of the arrival of the third god, Moalaleki, in Ata.

Moalaleki was the god of the village and fortress of Pea, Tongatabu. In the year 1852 the god became angry because the cup of kava of a warrior named Sialevaile was given to another warrior. Thereupon, the god deserted Pea and went at once to Ata, taking with him a root (*ulo*) of kava. With the departure of the god from Pea, misfortune fell upon the town, for that very day the Tui Kanokupolu George laid siege to it with his Methodist army.

When the god arrived in Ata he found the chiefs assembled inside a house wishing that they had kava to drink (kava was already grown in the island). Suddenly the god dropped the kava root from the roof of the house to the floor. Thereupon the chiefs said to one another, "We wish we had more kava. This is only a small quantity; too small to make a drink for us all." Then the god said from above, "It is small, but it is strong (*latea*)," expressing the idea in poetry as follows:

Oku sii pe ka oe latea
Koe kava na'e o Pea
Koe ha'u mei pe kolo tautea

It is small but it is strong
The kava was formerly of Pea
It has come from the punished town.

[539]

Kama, who was residing in Maufanga in 1921. Kama said also that there were no carved images within the sanctuary, and that no god other than Tui Haa Fakafanua presided there. ⁷⁷⁸ [776]

When Vahai's army came to Maufanga (about 1800), all the people had fled to the bush, leaving one cat, which Vahai took. He burnt the houses and the temple and the sanctuary of the god Tui Haa Fakafanua. Later when the chief Fakafanua refused to become a Christian, Taufaaahau also burned Maufanga, including temple and sanctuary. Fakafanua had removed his people to Pea, as he thought he could not withstand Taufaaahau at Maufanga. He removed all in a double vessel (*kalia*) to Pea at the suggestion of the chief Lavaka of Pea. This was presumably on the occasion of the siege of Pea in 1852. ⁷⁷⁸ ⁶⁶⁹ [797] [722]

Another famous sanctuary, with which is connected a remarkable story of devotion (p. 300), was that of the god Taufaitahi in Tatakamotonga. Other sanctuaries of less importance but still worthy of mention were situated on the island of Ofu, Vavau, at Makave, at Feletoa, and at Tofoa, all in Vavau. The sanctuary at Makave bore the high sounding name Tongamopulotu (Tonga and Pulu). All of these Vavau sanctuaries had surrounding fences and each had within it the house of the presiding deity and priest. ⁷⁷⁸

SACRED ANIMALS

Of the various sacred animals of the Tongan deities, only one, the flying fox, seems still to maintain a certain degree of sanctity, and in only one specific locality, the village of Kolovai, in the Hihifo district of Tongatabu. They are regarded as connected with the chief Ata rather than with the whole Haa Ngata Motua. Ata stated to me that the flying foxes and the flying fox god Pekapekaatama were not always connected with the Ata chieftainship, but that they were formerly sacred to the matapule Ula. They were transferred to Ata in the time of the great-grandfather of the present Ata. Ata thinks this transfer took place after Christianity had been established and was made "just for fun." Collocott, however, thinks that the transfer had been made in pre-Christian times. ⁷⁷⁸ ⁸²⁵ ⁷⁷⁶

Collocott (9, p. 230) gives a brief account of the flying fox god. The chief Ata may not shoot the flying foxes, but Tungi and Albert Tupou, who are *fahu* to Kolovai may do so if they wish. ^[604]

At this time it is difficult to say to what extent similar tapus for other sacred animals were observed in antiquity. A shellfish called *fuhu* was said also to be sacred to Ata, being at times the incarnation of a god, whose name I did not learn.

Other sacred animals of importance were the white tern sacred to Aloalo, the gecko sacred to Tui Haa Fakafanua, the shark sacred to Taufa, the octopus sacred to Haele Feke, the dog sacred to Pulu Katoa, the fruit dove, sacred to Kafoiaatu, and the herons sacred to Sisi and Faingaa.

which this clergyman enjoyed is further exemplified by the following anecdote: A married couple failed to produce children. They besought the aid of this clergyman and brought to him a pig. Still they were not blessed with a baby. Their neighbors said that the pig was not big enough. Apparently the procedure is the same as in heathen times. 784 784 842

Anciently, a priest might tapu a banana tree with its fruit by hanging a reed (*kaho*) on it. It was tapu for anyone to eat bananas from the tree under fear of sickness or death. The people regarded the priest "almost like a god." If he said a man would be dead tomorrow, the man died. If a person were sick or fell from a tree, or had other bad luck, it was regarded as evidence that he had stolen tapu bananas. 784 793

Peter Vi (3) tells of the following as taking place about 1830:

There was little food at Haapai [Lifuka], because there was a tapu on the yams, and the pigs, etc., because they were preparing for the feast of the marriage of the Tui Haapai [Taufaahau] and Asipau. [261]

It is said that if a commoner eats or drinks of the coconuts that grow on the top of the walled mound Siamaufuata, or rests there, he or she will become afflicted with goiter or some other sickness. This is because it is a chief's place and supernormally guarded by the Tui Tonga's tapu. This belief is still prevalent among the inhabitants of the neighboring village of Maufanga, Tongatabu. 784 565 753

It was tapu for a woman to step over a growing yam vine, presumably lest the plant be blighted. The term *hinakaiunga* refers to gray-headedness as a punishment for eating crab. 784

It was tapu to eat or drink the remains of the meal of a person higher in rank, a sore throat or swollen stomach being the probable result. [565] 753

The following account was recorded by Collocott on January 29, 1921. It reveals the tapu connected with superior relatives. 784 604

The girl Ika is suffering from a pain in her jaw; there seems to be a wisdom tooth growing. Amongst other measures for relief she went to her father's sister and told her about it, lest she should in this aunt's house have eaten something she should not, such as, remains of the aunt's food. The latter lady told her that there could be nothing of that, and that the trouble could be accounted for materially. Ika is named after the mother of her father and after this sister of her father—[the name Ika was given by the grandmother herself during her lifetime] and this naming gives her great immunities, in fact, seems to confer on her all the immunities that would be enjoyed by the older Ika herself were she still alive, but the girl's own inclination clearly is to use very sparingly her privileges. The aunt has given her food and drink left by her (Ika's) father, but she has not ventured to eat or drink them. She frequently goes to this aunt's place and eats there, and used to sit outside the house when eating or drinking, but the aunt, independently apparently of the efficacy of the name Ika, has got her to come inside and take her food, just like one of her own family. It was this practice that seemed to lend color to the girl's fear that her toothache was caused by improper eating. Had a broken tapu been the cause of Ika's tooth trouble the aunt could have cured it by stroking the spot. Incidentally, Ika mentioned to me that the penalty for using the comb of one who is tapu to me is that my hair turns gray. [553] 784 827 302

669 sign the government of the Hapai islands to
 728 Toobó Tóa, who was to send him annual tri-
 [634]bute.

When the cava was finished the company rose up, and the Vavaoo party returned to Felletoa, to prepare an entertainment for the Hapai people the following day.

634 Early the next morning all the chiefs, mata-
 669 booles, and warriors of Neafoo, painted and de-
 728 corated themselves with streamers, and put on
 541 mats, in token of Finow's inferiority as a rela-
 [292]tion to his aunt Toe Oomoo, chief of the for-
 [301]tress of Felletoa. They took spears in their
 [604]hands, and, thus equipped, marched out of
 [431]Neafoo, two and two, with Finow at their head,
 carrying with them presents for their relations

634 in the opposite garrison. In this order they
 669 entered Felletoa, and proceeded to the *maláii*,
 728 where all the chiefs and matabooles of Toe
 604 Oomoo were seated ready to receive them. A

quantity of hogs, yams, and fowls, were deposited in the middle of the circle, at the upper end of which a place was left vacant for the king to preside-in, for, his aunt not being there, he was the greatest chief present. Had Toe Oomoo been also present, she must have presided, at the head of the circle, and the king, as her inferior relation, must have seated himself opposite to her, on the outside of the cir-

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227

cle, among the common people; for no two relations of different rank can sit in the same circle together*. On this account, and out of respect to Finow, he being sovereign, Toe Oomoo did not make her appearance. Finow being seated, his men, as they came in, deposited their spears in the middle of the circle, to be afterwards shared out in the same manner as was done by the Vavaoo people at Neafoo the day before; they then retired to the outside of the circle, ready to wait upon the company. A large root of cava was then split into pieces, and distributed to be chewed as usual. While the cava was preparing, the provisions were shared out, ready to be eaten after the cava was drunk. This being done, and the provisions consumed, a second course of cava was prepared and served out, of which Finow having drunk a small quantity, retired to pay a visit to his aunt. When he arrived in her presence he went up to her, and, with great respect, kissed her hand, and she, in return, kissed his forehead†. He then sat down to

* An accurate and full description of the ceremonious regulations of a cava party will be given in the second volume.

† When a person salutes a superior relation, he kisses the hand of the party; if a very superior relation, he kisses the foot: the superior in return kisses the forehead. There may be some doubt as to the propriety of the term *to kiss* in this ceremony, for it is not performed by the lips after our

634 drink cava with her and her attendants, and, as
 604 she presided, he of course sat outside, facing
 728 her. When the cava was finished, he walked
 669 out to view the fortifications, on which occa-
 [276] sion the matabooles of Toe Oomoo waited on
 him, and pointed out every thing worthy of no-
 tice. They descanted on the excellence of the
 plan, and then gave him anecdotes of the war,
 telling him where such a chief was killed,
 where another lost his arm or his leg, where
 a cannon-ball had struck, &c.; and, as they
 viewed the outside of the works, they pointed
 out where the different murderers of Toob6
 703 Nuha met their fate. All this, however, they
 577 told him in answer to his queries; for it is a
 thing very remarkable in the character of the
 people of Tonga, that they never exult in any
 feats of bravery they may have performed, but,
 on the contrary, take every opportunity of
 praising their adversaries; and this a man will
 do, although his adversary may be plainly a
 coward, and will make an excuse for him, such

[576] usual mode, but rather by the application of the upper lip
 and the nostrils, and has more the appearance of smelling.
 When two equals are about to salute, each applies his upper
 lip and nostrils to the forehead of the other, or he applies
 his lips to the lips of the other, but without any movement
 [829] of them, or smack, as in our mode. Our kiss they never
 adopt, not even between the sexes, but, on the contrary,
 always ridicule it, and term it *the white man's kiss*.

teeth were of ivory, and gleamed white upon the girl, and were very beautiful. Then he spread two mats (*kie*), and lay with the girl. Then Tuipulotu bade her take the mats, and return with her sisters to the world. This is the reason of the custom in Tongan marriage of the mat of virginity, *kie tangavai*. So they were saved alive. 53A
773
775
[585]

THE DEMON AND HIS HOUSE OF BEAUTIFUL MEN AND WOMEN

In this story no names are given, and the locale is not said to be Pulotu. Probably it is to be considered a brief variant of the foregoing, though there are differences of detail, and the ending may have been modified by European fairy tales. [17]

There was once a *nifoloo*, whose house was built of beautiful men and women. The house was completed but for the ridgepole. Where the ridgepole should be was a space, left vacant to be filled by a person of flawless beauty. At last the demon discovered a girl whose beauty was in every way perfect, and she was led away to fill the empty space. As she went she wept, and when she was brought into the house the faces of those already built in grinned with envy of her loveliness.

But the demon was moved and softened by her loveliness and distress, and placed a substitute for her as ridgepole. Then he took her to the seashore, and bade her slay him; but this she could not bring herself to do; so he told her to go away, and he himself leaped into the sea. Thence he returned to her a handsome young man, and married her, and dismissed to their homes the men and women who had formed his house.

LOLONGOVAVAU, DAUGHTER OF HINA AND SINILAU

Hina, the wife of Sinilau,¹ a handsome man of the midpart of Tonga, bore him a daughter. After a time Hikuleo came from Pulotu, and, entering Hina's house, bade them bring the child out into the center of the house. The parents obeyed weeping, supposing that their child was to be killed. Hikuleo ordered, however, that she be named Lolongovavau, and that she be taken to Pulotu, to be queen (*tui*) there. Hina's brother Ofamaikiatama (Love to the child), said that he would go to Pulotu to look after her.² So Lolongovavau was taken to Pulotu, and placed in the palace (*fale hau*), and the two trees Pukolea (Speaking tree) and Akau-talanoa' (Talking tree) came at once, and stood, each at a doorpost, to guard the girl. There were also the guards who stood to watch. [604] ●
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Now the maiden was very beautiful, and when she grew up, her uncle, seeing that the time had come for her to marry, went up to the world to seek a handsome man to be her husband. He commenced his search in

NOTES

Page 8. Maui in Eua

1. The *si* is apparently the well-known *Cordyline terminalis*; the leaves used in making girdles, the root for sweetening food. Pratt (30) says that in Samoa the root was used as food in times of scarcity. Doubtless the Tongans also ate it when other food was not plentiful.

Pages 10-11. Stories of Tongatabu

1. Vaileua, called also Touia. Possibly one name is that of the ground in which the pool was situated, and the other that of the pool itself.

2. No other occurrence of the word *haulefe* is known to me.

3. A party which includes one chief or a number of chiefs is referred to collectively as *Aousei* (chiefs), and chiefly language is used with reference to them.

Page 11. The well Veemumuni

1. The term *vai* (water), here translated "well" is applied to lake, spring, pool of fresh water, the sea, and river, frequently without distinction, but descriptive words are sometimes added, for example, *vai-tafe*, flowing water (river); *vai-tapu*, springing water (spring).

Page 12. Road to Pulotu

1. Smith (33, pp. 35, 36) thinks that in this duality of position of the Spirit-world, which is common throughout Polynesia, there is a confusion of two meanings of *raro*, *lalo* (*ao*), down and west.

Page 16. Tuipulotu's house in Pulotu

1. Tuipulotu is a frequently occurring proper name, both of men and women. Mariner mentions Tuipulotu as a minor god of the sea and voyages, and protector of Finau's family (28, vol. 2, p. 107).

2. Accounts of Samoan marriage ceremony are given by Kramer (26, vol. 1, p. 38); by Brown (6, p. 21); and by Collocott (11).

Pages 17-20. Lolongovavau, daughter of Hina and Sinilau

1. It is not necessary to assume that every occurrence of the names Hina and Sinilau concerns Hina, connected with moon and sea, and Sinilau or Tinirau, son of the sun, connected with sea and fishes. I have heard the Tongan opinion expressed that there is a tendency for stories of handsome men and their beautiful wives to attach themselves to the names of Sinilau and Hina. In this tale, however, there are many features of Hina stories.

2. The mother's side of the house is subordinate to the father's, and from that side is most likely to come such a guardian as *Oiamajkiatama*.

3. There are frequent mentions of speaking *puko* tree, or a speaking tree, but this identification of two trees, as indicated by the two expressions, is rare.

4. The expression *Alu hake ki maina* means "went up to light." The word *mama* (light) is a usual one for the world of human beings, and for human beings themselves; *Mamani*, which apparently means this light, is practically a proper name of this world.

5. Persons greeting one another commonly refer to what the other is doing; that is, *Oiamajkiatama* says "*Malo e maimoa*" (Malo the game), and *Lolomatokelau* replies, "*Io, malo e fononga*" (Yes, *malo* the journey). The word *malo*, sometimes rather colorless, expresses thanks, approval, appreciation. A very common form of greeting of people meeting on the road is the simple question "Were you in such a place?"

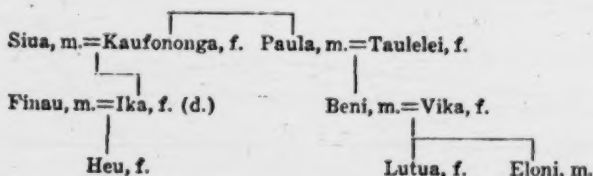
6. See p. 12 for reference to roads to Pulotu. Gifford gives *Niuaunofu* as the northwestern point of Tongatabu. This is a few miles north from the road to Pulotu on the weather coast near the village of Foui.

FATHER'S SISTER

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The respectful observances between brother and sister carry on in the next generation in the kinship status of the father's sister (*mehekitanga*) in relation to her brother's children. These kinship avoidances therefore, generally operate between two generations, but if the father's sister is dead, then the father's sister's daughter will act as father's sister even though her "nephews and nieces" are of the same generation stratum as herself. This is shown if the generation given above is continued with collateral lines:

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In this genealogy, Ika, now deceased, was the "sister" of Beni, and hence, father's sister of Beni's children, Lutua and Eloni. However, Heu, Ika's daughter, is classed now as father's sister to Beni's children. This of course, complicates the reciprocal relationships considerably, because Beni also ranks as Heu's mother's brother, from whom Heu, because of the *fahu* relationship, may take anything she wishes.

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Between the father's sister and her brother's children, respectful observances, as noted, are still important. Thus Heu acts as father's sister to four children, Sisilia, Sione, Lutua, Eloni. It is *tipu* for the children to drink of the same nut or eat of the same portion of food as Heu. The children may not come into the house if Heu is sick, although Heu may care for any of the four children should they be sick. At all times the children must defer to the authority and wishes of their father's sister. She has in a real sense, ultimate control over their lives in so far as her brothers must also defer to her authority. It is right and proper that when any food distribution is made, the father's sister should be remembered with an extra large share. Or that when any fish catch is made, some of the fish should be set aside for the father's sister before the catch is consumed or sold. At all times and in all places, that is, care must be taken to show deference and regard for the father's sister.

MOTHER'S BROTHER

The mother's brother is termed *fa'e tangata*, "male mother." Between him and his sister's children (*ilamutu*) there is a relationship termed *fahu* which also extends to his own children. This relationship is one of great freedom, so much indeed that the missionary Baker, for instance, in compiling his Tongan dictionary defines *fahu* as "one that is above the law." The definition is not strictly correct because the *fahu* relationship is governed very precisely by the law of custom, but this custom allows behaviour that to the early missionaries must have bordered on a horrible license in regard to the disposal of property. 604
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According to the *fahu* relationship as observed in the village today, the children have full liberty to help themselves to the property of their mother's brother. Thus when Biukala went to Tongatapu to boarding-school, he naturally expected his mother's brother to provide him with pocket-money, food, and clothing—just for the asking. His mother's brother never failed to give what was required. Biukala also lived with this relative during school vacations because he had free access to the mother's brother's house and all that it contained. Similarly with the complex relationship shown in the genealogy on page 74. When Heu functions as an *ilamutu* to Beni, she goes without asking permission to Beni's plantation gardens and takes whatever food she requires—bananas, plantains, yams, *taro*. She also asks Beni for a pig should she need one and have none of her own available. She does not ask Beni either for money or clothes although she would be well within her rights in so doing. After one of these visits to his gardens, Beni usually comes to Heu's house and asks if she is the one who has taken the food. Heu says yes, and Beni leaves without further comment. His visit is merely to make sure that no unauthorised persons have been tampering with his property. 604
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Where there are several *ilamutu*, it is generally conceded that the rights and desires of the senior take precedence over those of the junior *ilamutu*. Seniority is based either on chronological age if all *ilamutu* are of the same generation, or else on genealogical reckoning if there is generation disparity. 604
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It is likely that there is a marked difference in the incidence of claims based on the *fahu* relationship between those of chiefly class on the one hand, and the commoners on the other. On the basis of his theoretical analysis, Piddington²⁰ for example, distinguishes three related elements in the *fahu*-complex. These elements are economic claims, claims to seniority of rank of sister's child over mother's brother, and claims to authority. He suggests that the relative importance of these elements is different in the case of commoners as compared with the Tongan aristocracy—respect and seniority (social superiority) being the essential items for royal and chiefly *fahu*, economic elements (transference of property, principally) being more important for commoners. From the viewpoint of commoner life, our observations tend to substantiate this suggestion. Whenever our informants discussed the *fahu*-system with us, they were uniformly thinking in economic terms, in terms, that is, of the transfer of pigs, food, mats and other items of Tongan wealth. Seniority, respect, authority, are of course, basic to this transfer as giving rationalization and justification for its occurrence, but these elements are secondary, not uppermost in the villager's mind. On the other hand, all accounts of chiefly *fahu*-behaviour agree with master ideas of Tongan culture in emphasizing the great significance of seniority and respect in the functioning of this aspect of the kinship system.

KINSHIP RECIPROCITY

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In the complete interrelation of elements that make up the village kinship system as a theoretical institutional structure, there is a reciprocity of rights and duties which governs the relations of each relative to each and every other. Insofar as these rights and duties are not theoretical merely, but provide justification and basis for an interchange of economic and social goods and services, it is obvious that while there may be a theoretical reciprocity, in actual practice it may be hard to secure the conditions such that practice conforms to theory. Death may break the social fabric or marriage outside of one's village of birth. In

[113] ²⁰ Williamson, R. W., *Religion and Social Organization in Central Polynesia*, edited by Ralph Piddington, Cambridge, 1937, 284-285.

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either case, key-relatives may be missing or may live far away and so a reciprocity of relationship fails to work out in practice. 602

Illustrations may clarify these generalizations. Thus, whereas Heu is *ilamutu* to Beni, her mother's brother, Beni's mother's brother has been dead many, many years and there is none from whom Beni may obtain property by virtue of the *fahu*-relationship. For him therefore, the *fahu*-relationship represents a one-sided drain on his resources for which he has no opportunity to recoup himself. The same situation would arise if Beni's mother's brother were still living, but in residence, say, in Tongatapu or Ha'apai. Beni might see this theoretical mother's brother no more frequently than once in ten years. Again, therefore, the relationship would be one-sided. 602 604

It was probably a realization of the inequalities that result from such a lop-sided implementation of kinship obligations which militated formerly against marriage with mates from distant villages, and which is still today a factor of importance that is carefully considered by the elders before consent to inter-village marriage is granted. The preferred marriage, that is, is marriage with a mate of one's own village (provided no close blood-relationship is involved), and if this is not possible, then marriage with a mate from a village that is relatively near to Pangai. This is the best way of ensuring that the mother's brother in each generation will be on hand to provide his share of economic goods and services and also, that a father's sister will be present to teach children rules of respect. 582 602 604

Elders are often angry if a mate is chosen from a distant village. Thus, when Faleta came from Ha'apai to court Heu, the grandmother of Heu (her mother was dead) spat on Faleta and reviled him with evil words each time he appeared in her house to drink *kava*. She would have no mate for her grandchild who did not come from Pangai, she screamed. Otherwise, how would her great-grandchildren get on without a father's sister to teach them proper respect for authority, and without father's relatives to help them with goods and services at feast-times? She would rather die, she said, than have her granddaughter marry a stranger. And when her granddaughter persisted with her choice, then

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the old lady wailed to everyone that she hoped to die before the marriage took place. The marriage did take place. The old lady did not die. In the twelve years since the marriage, there have been no children.

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In the case just mentioned, the matter was complicated by the fact that Heu had to stay in Pangai to take care of the old woman. In other cases the wife would go to her husband's village to live. There the children would find their husband's sister to teach them respect. But the mother's brother would continue to reside in the mother's village. Then the children would learn respect, but they would find it hard to draw on the resources of the mother's brother. From all points of view, therefore, the system of relationships that unites one generation to the father's sister and the mother's brother of the preceding generation can best be put in operation if all parties concerned live in the same village or in closely connected villages. If this kind of residential requirement is impossible, then reciprocity of kinship tends to crumble before the blows of a logic of distance.

THE LIFE CYCLE

PREGNANCY

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A woman uses several signs as an indication of pregnancy. She finds herself without much appetite and feels physically weak. She is also abnormally sensitive to bad smells. Menstruation ceases. Later there is darkening of the area round the nipples and a swelling of the breasts. There are no *tapu* for the husband during the period of pregnancy, but the mother must be careful of many things. It is *tapu* for her to wind things round her neck lest her baby be born strangled by the umbilical cord. She must not cut or pull buttons off her husband's shirts in the course of sewing and repair or her baby's ears and mouth might be torn or damaged during delivery. It is *tapu* to eat while sitting on her husband's sleeping-mat lest the baby's head become soft and swollen. It is *tapu* to eat or drink hot food or the baby will be born with a raw, reddish skin. Eating octopus or reef-foods is likely to give the baby a spotted skin; eating certain kinds of fish will prevent a development of

844 mother calls out: "*Ko ho manava, mo hoku manava*"—literally, "My breath and your breath." The father takes the afterbirth with the cord attached and digs a hole in the middle of a path near the house. He burns some dry leaves in this hole to warm it and then, when the fire dies down, places the afterbirth in the hole after wrapping it in bark cloth. The hole is then carefully filled in with earth.

Meanwhile the baby is being wiped clean with warm water. It is wrapped warmly in bark cloth and allowed to rest in the grandmother's lap. The medicine-man is given presents in return for his services: mats, bark cloth, food, sometimes money. The husband prepares a feast with as big a pig as he can afford. *Kava* is served to all friends and relatives in the house. When the food is served, the mother may not eat pork. The most honourable part of the pig, its back, is given to the medicine-man.

604 Two relatives who will later play an important role in
 846 the child's life, observe a different procedure. The *meheki-*
 601 *tanga* (father's sister) may come into the house and hold the child in giving it a name. The *fa'e tangata* (mother's brother) may not come into the house but spends his time in the cook-house helping with the feast.

846 For ten days after the birth the mother is confined
 (854) entirely to the house. At the end of this time, the infant is given a warm-water bath by the mother's mother. The mother may now leave the house to attend to bodily needs, but stays closely confined in the house for the rest of the day and night. This confinement lasts for three months in the case of the first-born, for two months in the case of a second-born, and thereafter for one month in the case of subsequent children. A formal baptism in the church marks the end of this confinement of the mother. After this, the mother returns to full participation in the work of the household and in the everyday life of the village.

In the ten day confinement period, the routine is as follows: Mother and baby lie on separate beds of bark cloth. The mother's head is wrapped in a turban of bark cloth and she is covered with layers of bark cloth. Close to (854) her lies the baby surrounded with an enclosure of bark cloth over which a piece of cotton or muslin is thrown to keep away flies. During the first day the father is busy preparing the (574)

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feast for the mother's relatives. Inside the house in the public section and separated from the mother by the bark cloth partition, the mother's relatives congregate: three or four men and perhaps ten or twelve women. A girl makes *kava* while the group sits talking. A man comes into the house, throws a gift of *kava* onto the floor in the centre of the room and says: "*Malo ae faele*"—"Thank you for the child's birth." All drink *kava*. *Kava* drinking and talking continue for the rest of the day. For the second day, visitors continue to come to the house, but they are fewer and there is no *kava*-drinking. Male relatives of the mother bring gifts of *kava*, female relatives bring gifts of baby-clothing. After the third day, visitors stop calling at the house. Relatives of the father do not visit during these early days. Toward the end of the ten-day period, they are formally invited by the father to visit the baby and mother. Food and *kava* are prepared for their visit.

It is to be noted that the mother's relatives receive first attention and are the only visitors allowed the mother during the early days of the confinement. Only later are the father's relatives present, and then only by invitation. According to village theory, the mother is presenting her husband's household with an item of great value. It is right, therefore, that she and her family should be honoured above all others. For the moment, the mother's family is active. The father's group is merely the passive recipient of the gift of new life. It is right, therefore, that this group should occupy a background position in the birth celebrations.

NAMING

The infant is named within a few hours after birth. The name is given by the father's sister (*mehekitanga*), by her son or daughter, or by some other close relative of the father's sister. This person formally asks the privilege of giving the name or, rather, of naming the name by which the child shall be known. At the same time she gives the child a present of clothing or a small baby-mat. Three days later, the father makes a feast for the name-giver and she receives gifts of mats and bark cloth which have been collected together by the father's mother and the mother's mother.

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mother. The exchange of presents is greatest for a first-born son, greater for a first-born girl than for subsequent girls, greater for a first boy than for subsequent boys or girls.

GROWING UP

121 No systematic study was made of the life of children. The following note on one aspect only of this life is to be understood as only a statement of what appears to the observer of village life as obvious and frequent.

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[561] Children play frequently in groups which number up to ten or more members. There is little age stratification because most older children, older girls particularly, have the responsibility of being nursemaids for younger children and infants. Thus it is natural that the younger children should be members of a gang-group that is led by older children. The typical group, therefore, includes children between the ages of sixteen months and seven years. These gangs spend much of their time exploring and playing in the bush or on the beach. A good deal of aggressive behaviour is displayed within the group. Shouts and laughter of one moment give place to tears in the next as an older child picks up a coconut-switch and unmercifully beats one of the younger children for some disobedience.

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855 As long as the infants are babes in arms they are petted, pampered, and played with. From the age of eighteen months or so onwards, the children are thrown on their own resources. This means that they are free to go where they will or where they can. The mothers expect assistance and obedience if the children are playing round the house when some simple task comes to hand. The child who disobeys or who is thought lazy in carrying out a command is generally severely beaten by the mother. The beatings, which appear to be village-practice in enforcing discipline, are almost all carried out by adult women or by older children. The men of the household are generally away from the village all day, working in their gardens. We never saw a man direct more than the mildest of verbal reproofs toward his child. The whippings and beatings are women's work. In one instance only did we hear of a man beating a youngster. This was the case of Bovai who became enraged over the alleged laziness of his adopted son, aged fifteen years. The

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585 the house. On these mats are sitting the groom's mother's
 585 brother (his *fa'e tangata*, called at this time his *fa'e huki*,
 604 "lap mother"), and the bride's mother's younger sister.
 The groom sits in the lap of his mother's brother, the bride
 in the lap of her mother's sister. They continue to sit thus
 until the *kava* drinking is finished.

585 *Kava* is made and drunk with special ceremony. The
 276 bowl is placed before the bride and groom. It is the largest
 possible bowl and in front of the bowl is the largest possible
 root of *kava* (*kava toho*).²³ The *kava* and the accompanying
 food are provided by the fathers of both bride and groom.
 Four men out of the group of those present (termed
 collectively *tou'a*) are selected to prepare the *kava*-root. The
 root is cut carefully into three sections. The middle section
 [777] is laid aside because it brings bad luck to use it. From the
 two end pieces, the drink is prepared after these pieces have
 been scraped and cleaned. Two sets of pounding-stones are
 set on two mats and two men of the group of four slowly
 pound the *kava* root into small pieces. The groom invites an
 expert to make the *kava*. He sits before the bowl and
 prepares the drink from the root as it is passed to him by the
 pounders. The expert makes great display of skill as he
 goes through the routine of *kava* making.

585 When the *kava* is ready, the person who is presiding over
 276 the circle calls for the *kava*-relish (*fono kava*). The largest
 574 pig (*puaka toho*) is divided in such fashion that the back is
 262 presented to the bride's father's sister's child (the bride's
 605 *fahu*) and the remainder is divided equally among all the
 other members of the *kava* circle. Food from the oven is also
 divided among all those present. Neither pork nor other food
 may be eaten at this time. It is taken home and eaten after
 the *kava*-drinking is finished. Now the *kava*-cups are called
 and after the first round is finished the bride and groom leave
 the group.

[804] ²³ *Kava* roots are classified in size and named with the same size
 terms that are applied to pigs. Thus there is *kava toho*, *kava hula*,
kava ha'amo, *kava fuataha*, just as there are pigs—*puaka toho*, *puaka*
hula, etc. A feast at which a pig of the largest size is served, a *puaka*
toho, must also serve a *kava toho*, *kava* of the largest size, and so on in
 gradations for size of pig, size of *kava* and status of feast.

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the family always defers to Tui and consults him in preference to his older brother although the latter is theoretically the head of the family. Tui at first refused to allow the marriage on the grounds that Paula was too young. Paula persisted in his request until Tui gave his assent. Then Paula asked permission to marry from his own mother's brother (*fa'e tangata*), Semisi. Semisi was agreeable. Finally Paula was sent to obtain the permission of his father's brother (his own father was dead). This permission too, was given, and the date fixed by the father's brother for the next day. All Meletautuli's relatives agreed to the marriage also. Had any of the parties consulted been unwilling, the marriage would have been postponed.

On the day following all this consultation, Paula together with Tui, Kali, and some friends visited Paula's father's brother at his home in the nearby village of Toula carrying a gift of six large yams, ten giant-sized *taro*, and three small pigs. At about the same time, Melenaite (not to be confused with the bride Meletautuli) who is Paula's mother's sister, sent Fa (another sister of Paula's mother), Litea (Paula's own sister), Loise (mother's younger sister's daughter of Eniketi, Tui's wife), and Pohiva (Kali's wife) to the village of Toula to prepare Paula's ceremonial marriage-skirt (*vala*). The women took with them about one fathom of white bark cloth, one fine plaited mat of the type known as *fihu*, and five plaited mats of the kind called *kie*. The bark cloth and mats were all owned by Melenaite. In Toula, Meletautuli's mother had already got together the four *kie* mats that were to serve as the bride's ceremonial skirt. After eating and *kava* drinking, the party all set out for Neiafu to secure the marriage license. When they arrived at the town, it was discovered that the bride was only seventeen years old. Her mother was sent for to give permission to the marriage. The license was then issued, Tui paying the fee of six shillings. Then the group went to the church where the religious ceremony was performed. Again Tui paid the fee, this time the sum of four shillings. Tui then hired a motor lorry to carry the party back to Toula. For the truck-hire he paid three shillings.

After the arrival back at Toula, an oven was opened, the food laid out on coconut-leaf mats, and all sat down to

Marriage in Tonga.

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good quality and including fine mats, of his own provision, and a girdle of sweet-smelling leaves and flowers is put around his neck. He goes out and stands midway between the *kava* bowl and the mat dais, and a woman who is *fahu** on the bride's side calls the name of some important personage of the bride's father's family to go and take the bridegroom's dress. The bridegroom may either be alone, or accompanied by his "mother." The one named at once steps forth and takes immediate possession. The bridegroom then returns to the house, and when he has been garbed anew, comes once more into the space between the *kava* bowl and dais, and the *fahu* calls someone of the bride's mother's family to be the recipient of the second dress. Possession is at once taken as before. This may be repeated twice more, the third set of clothes going to the bride's father's, and the fourth to the bride's mother's family, but as a rule the first and second presentations are sufficient. The bridegroom finally comes forth from the house garbed in raiment which the *fahu* subsequently claims for herself, but which is meanwhile worn by the groom. This dress is called the dress for serving *kava*. The *kava* is now served, the bridegroom taking the cups round, whilst the bride sits under the canopy, and has presented to her the third, the chief, cup. She is the chief on this occasion. The food distributed with the *kava* is the largest pig in the baskets brought by the bridegroom's family, and the back, the chiefly portion, is laid before the bride. As in other *kava* ceremonial the food is not eaten by those to whom it is presented, but is borne off by certain people who are *fahu* to the several recipients.

After the *kava* has been drunk the food is distributed, that provided by the bride's people amongst the groom's family, and that given by the man amongst the bride's folk. Similarly the mats and cloth are exchanged between the families. The bridegroom has nominally the disposal of that given by the bride's relatives, and the bride of the presentations of her husband's folk, but very little of it will fall to their share. The distribution will probably not be made on the day of the wedding feast, but at some convenient time a little later. Meanwhile the mats and cloth given by the man's party are taken home by the bride's parents, and kept till she can go and attend to their disposal. Amongst regular wedding gifts are candle-nuts and towels of native cloth, which are presented to both bride and bridegroom several days before the ceremony, to serve them in their preparatory ablutions. Candle-nuts are ground in the mouth, and used as a detergent. There is no obligation to use these gifts

* The *fahu* is extremely important in Tongan society. It is a relative who has wide rights and authority over a man, namely his sister, or his father's sister, or their children.

585 for their ostensible purpose, and indeed the chances are that they will not be so used, but will be donated to friends with the other gifts. The bride's relatives, moreover, bring mats nominally to serve as a couch for the children that shall be born of the union. These mats, however, are not retained by the happy couple, but are shared out in the general distribution.

Mention has been made of the *veifua*, the special basket of food. As this is borne to the site of the ceremony the most important person on the groom's side approaches and takes the liver and eats it, or gives it to whomsoever he will, or else marks his consequence by striking the basket or its pig with his hand. This basket falls to the lot of the *fahu* of the bridegroom, probably to his sister.

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[264] When the ceremony is finished, the bride and bridegroom, who have probably nothing of the food provided for the wedding, have a quiet meal together *en famille*, and their domestic life has fairly begun.

One other ceremony remains, that connected with the bride's virginity. The man who has married a maiden awaits a suitable opportunity, and prepares a large basket of food which he presents to her parents. He also gives them the mat bearing the sign of her virginity. With increasing refinement of manners the practice is gaining ground of substituting for this a simple present of a fine mat. Elderly female relatives sometimes sleep with the newly married, and if an old woman interested in the maiden suspects that her credentials are not as sound as they should be she may preserve her reputation by a little pious fraud.

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622 The high chief Tukuaho, who died towards the close of the nineteenth century, left a diary in which is an interesting account of the older procedure followed at the marriage of a great chief. In essence the ceremony is identical with the foregoing description of a modern wedding; but the bridegroom is represented as going by night with a large following of his people, and bringing his bride home with loud shouts and exclamations. Amongst the exclamations said to be proper to the occasion is gibberish, untranslatable as either Tongan or Samoan, but which seems to be misrendered Samoan, and to contain references to rites of Samoan marriage which found no place in Tongan ceremony. William Mariner, who spent four years in Tonga in the early part of the nineteenth century, saw a high chief married with Samoan rites, though a portion of the Samoan ceremonial was omitted, and it may well be that Samoan marriage customs came to have a certain vogue in fashionable circles. The diarist speaks of these high society functions being extended over several days, and being graced with various dances.

582
622 Although marriages, especially of chiefs, are frequently arranged by the elders, yet the youths and girls have considerable freedom in

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25

I am unable to give in detail the positions of all the chiefs; but there are three very important places on each side just where the ring curves round toward the bowl. This portion is called the *fasi*. The whole circle of chiefs and *matapule* is called the *alofi*. The *fasi* has three divisions, the *fasi alofi*, *fasi tapu*, and *fasi toua*, occupied, on the left, respectively by three chiefs of the Ha'a Ngata, Ve'ehala, Ata, and Kapukava; and, on the right, by Ma'afu, Vaha'i, and Momotu. Ma'afu and Momotu belong to the Ha'a Havea; but Vaha'i is a son of Nuku, and is said to have lived in Hihifo, at Foui, as the ambassador, *malanga*, of Nuku to the Tu'i Kanokupolu.* The present prominence of Vaha'i is probably due largely to the actual might of a Vaha'i who lived about the beginning of the nineteenth century, and who was the greatest warrior of his time, at a period when skill and strength in battle were a passport to authority. Kapukava has to-day no part in the *fono* (see below) of Ve'ehala, and Ata surmises that the reason is that his *fono* was given to Vaha'i.

Ata, who is said to *pule 'ae fonua*, rule the land, and has charge of all things pertaining to the welfare of the king, is, consequently, also said to *pule 'ae kava*, rule the kava. He sees that everything is done in order. He has the right to *ha'i 'ae alofi*, bind the *alofi*, which means that if he comes late to a *kava*-ring in which there is no room for him he sits apart; whereupon the chiefs stand up and spread out a little to make a place for him.

Grouped behind the bowl, or where the bowl will presently be, are the chiefs of the Ha'a Ma'afu, and inferior chiefs of the Ha'a Latuhifo and Ha'a Vaea. This is, in short, the position of younger brothers in general. It is called the *toua*.

Apart by himself, to the rear of the *toua*, in a line with the king and the bowl sits Tungi, the head (*ulu*) of the Ha'a-takalaua, and with much of the blood of Tu'i Tonga Fefine flowing in his veins. His connection with the Tu'i Kanokupolu's *kava*-circle comes through his descent from Halaevalu Mata'aho, the sister of Taufaaahau, King George I., the founder of the present dynasty, or of the dynasty in its present status. He is *hako'i fefine*, descendant

* Momotu lived in Kolovai (in Hihifo) as the ambassador of the Ha'a Havea to the Tu'i Kanokupolu.

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276 of a woman,* and is *fahu* to the Tu'i Kanokupolu. The cup
574 which goes to him is *kava he*, wandering *kava*.

576 It is said of the Ha'a Ngata tupu that they did not
643 join the *alofi*, but that it was their duty to guard the *kava*-
565 making for the king. There is, however, a man named
[604] Tolo, belonging to this house who drinks in the king's *kava*
party. He was brought to drink of the Tu'i Kanokupolu's
kava.

276 Before any *kava* is prepared for drinking presentations
574 of food and *kava* are brought and placed before the king
643 and chiefs. These are arranged in orderly rows, pigs, yams,
802 etc., and *kava*, so as to be easily viewed. Motu'apuaka
directs that they be counted. This is done by a man who
walks along the rows of baskets, touching each in turn and
counting in a loud voice. When he reaches ten a second
man jumps up, holding a staff, and calls "one"; the first
man continues counting to twenty, when the second man
shouts "two," and so on up to one hundred, when the second
man calls "ten," and a third man gets up, holding a staff,
and shouts "one." So they go on, the first man actually
counting, the second keeping count of the tens, and the third
of the hundreds. Should the number of baskets go into the
thousands a fourth man would join in. When the counting
is finished the result is formally announced, so many pigs
(distinguished by the way they are prepared and brought,
which is some indication of size), so many plants, roots and
bundles of *kava* (also distinguished by the way in which
they are brought and size), so many baskets of yams, and
perhaps other details are mentioned.

276 Then the presiding *matapule*, Motu'apuaka, orders the
574 *toua* to be put in order, *fakalelei 'ae toua*, and all who
643 do not belong to the *alofi* sit closely grouped in the *toua*.
Motu'apuaka bids *kava* be brought, specifying what kind,
i.e., what size of plant. This is brought within the circle,
and placed at the *toua* end in front of the man who is to
prepare the beverage. His place is in the middle of the
front of the *toua*, directly opposite, and facing, the king.
The *kava* is laid before him with the root toward him and
the branches turned away. A man then loosens and divides
the root into big sections by striking it with a sharpened

* See Hocart, *Chieftainship and the Sister's Son in the Pacific*.
American Anthropologist, Vol. 17, No. 4.

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276 the second Tu'i Kanokupolu. Ve'ehala and Ata Mataila
 574 were brothers, and Ve'ehala's *fono* is not brought from the
 643 portion allotted to Motu'apuaka or Lauaki, but from that
 565 assigned to the king himself. But the *fono* is not eaten by
 264 those to whom it is given. After it has been distributed
 certain people who are *fahu* to those to whom the *fono*
 has been given come and take it away to dispose of as they
 like; they may eat it themselves or give it to whomsoever
 they will. Usually the *fono* is not eaten till after the *kava*
 ceremony is finished. Those who have the right of eating
 the *fono* are spoken of as *kai fono*, *fono* eaters. Some of
 the *fahu* of a chief are spoken of as *kau mokopuna 'eiki*,
 noble descendants, or noble grandchildren. (*Mokopuna* is
 the word used in translating the English "grandchild," but
 of course its Tongan meaning is not so restricted.) Not
 565 all *mokopuna* are '*eiki*, noble. (Mr. Hocart's distinction
 554 between nobles and chiefs, titled heads of houses, is neces-
 sary and convenient. The Tongan word for both nobles and
 chiefs is '*eiki*, but there is a third sense of '*eiki*, viz., supe-
 rior in social rank. For example, one may say that such
 a one, a member of his family, is '*eiki* to him, i.e., superior
 to him in rank within the family; all the members of the
 family may be '*eiki*, noble, and some one or other individual
 may be the '*eiki*, the titled head.) Whether the *mokopuna*
 are noble or not depends on birth, doubtless on the rank of
 their mothers. One informant calls the *mokopuna 'eiki*
 those who are '*eiki*, socially superior, in their families.
 [264] Children, *fanau*, do not eat the *fono*, but only *mokopuna*.
 [858] A father is sacred, *toputapu*, to his sons and daughters;
 593 they must not touch his head or eat his food; but grand-
 603 children are not bound by *tapu* in respect of their grand-
 parents.

604 But although some may simply say that the *kau moko-*
 554 *puna 'eiki*, chiefly grandchildren, are those who eat the *fono*,
 others lay stress on the sister's son as pre-eminently the
 one who is *fahu*. The father's sister's son is also *fahu*. A
 very intelligent Tongan says that one cannot lay down a
 hard and fast rule as to who is especially the *fahu* in every
 case. A concrete example is that of Takai, a descendant of
 the daughter of Alea-motua, the Tu'i Kanokupolu who died
 in 1845, who is *fahu* and *kai fono* to the present Queen.

[603] The *fahu* rights of the sister's son are clear; but the
 children of both sons and daughters have free access to

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31

their grand-parents, and are, at all events in general, of superior social rank to them, yet they are not necessarily *fahu* to them. ⁶⁰⁴ ⁵⁵⁴ [603]

Do the rights of the *mokopuna* and of the sister's son indicate a fusion of two social organizations?

There is also an expression *hako 'eiki*, which simply translated would mean chiefly descendants, but is defined by a Tongan informant as a descendant, *hako*, of a chief other than the one to whom his "body rightly is related," which apparently means a person closely related to one noble house, but having in his veins the blood of some other noble family.⁶¹¹ ⁵⁶⁵

Foreigners, being exempt from the *tapu* binding on the native, may eat the *fono*; but when the descendant of a foreigner has much Tongan plebeian blood claims based on foreignness are disallowed. At a *kava* party of Ata's some women were sitting in the *alofi*, and were ordered to move. One, however, who said she was a Samoan, was allowed to stay, and sat throughout the ceremony with one hand resting on the ground, which would not have been permitted to a Tongan woman or man.⁶⁰⁹ ²⁷⁶ ⁵⁷⁴ ⁵⁷⁶

Should there happen to be no *kai fonu* in the assembly the chief may call anyone to come and take the *fono*. After the chief's *fono* has been taken no difficulty is felt about the others. The *matapule* may tell the man who is taking away the chief's to take all; he may take all together, or may take the chief's first and then return for the remainder. There is no formality here; it is merely a matter of convenience.²⁷⁶ ⁵⁷⁴ ²⁶⁴

The time occupied with the *fono* is that for certain speeches to be made by the *matapule*, mainly of a congratulatory sort. There are certain stereotyped phrases of compliment, e.g., *kei tu'u pe 'ae la'a*, the sun is still in its place, i.e., the king is still well. A very interesting feature of these ceremonial addresses is the introductory²⁷⁶ ⁵⁷⁴ ⁵³⁷ ⁶⁴³ ¹⁴⁵ ⁵⁷⁶

* *Hou'eiki matua*, noble parents, are chiefs who have become the progenitors of other titled houses, i.e., in addition to their original title which has continued in the direct line, at some point in their history another line and title have branched off from them.

Kai fonua, eating the land. Ata and Vaea are *kai fonua*; first-fruits were taken to them, and they ordered fruits of the land to be taken to the Tu'i Kanokupolu. There were no *kai fonua* chiefs among the Tu'i Tonga chiefs. (*Anga faka-kai-fonua* is said to be an abusive term.)

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male relatives of the mother and in her generation or not. When the father's brothers or mother's sisters are indicated separately from the true father or mother, a descriptive term such as *tokoua o'e tamai* or *tokoua o'e fa'e* is used. The word for mother's brother, *tuasina* described by Gifford⁽¹⁶⁾ and Koch⁽¹⁷⁾ was not obtained, and I think *fa'e tangata* must be much more popular than *tuasina* today. Also in daily conversation the term *tokoua* for the siblings of the same sex is widely used, instead of *taokete* or *tehina*. 601 114

As a term for a spouse, *unoho*, *ohoana* and *hoa* by Gifford are completely replaced by the English term *mali*. For a man, his wife, his wife's sister and his brother's wife are all denoted by the term *mali*, and for a woman, her husband, her husband's brother and her sister's husband are her *mali*. The complementary term to *mali* is *matapule* which indicates four kinds of relation; for a man, his sister's husband, his wife's brother, and for a woman, her brother's wife and her husband's sister. A woman's brother's wife and man's wife's brother are grouped by Gifford under the name of *mo'a*,⁽¹⁸⁾ a term which I could not elicit. Gifford thinks that *matapule* is an honorary term which applies only to the higher rank of man's sister's husband and woman's husband's sister, but it is used reciprocally regardless of rank or status. 601 114 554

He mentions that the father's sister's husband is also called *tangata eiki*, chiefly man.⁽¹⁹⁾ But *tangata eiki* is an honorary term to be extended not only to the father's sister's husband, but also to the father and to a man not related. For example, when one indicates "your father" or "your husband," it is used as a pure honorific expression, not a kinship term.

There are no special terms of address at all. Even by their own small children people are addressed by their own personal names. 601

The Norm of Kinship Behaviour

As already pointed out by a number of writers, kinship behaviour is precisely defined according to the rank of an individual within a network of kinship. The norm the villagers think they should observe today is variously defined in accordance with the relationship involved. 602 554

Parents and Children

Father and children: It is *tapu* for both sons and daughters to touch the father's head, to use his clothes, bed, combs and to eat the food he does not finish eating. Upon his death, they cannot stay inside a house where the corpse is laid. The attitude towards the father's brother is the same as towards the father. The head of a nuclear family is the father who is responsible for the management of the household affairs. When sons and daughters want to marry, they should consult their father, and if he forbids the marriage, the only way to effect their purpose is to elope. 593 784 602 604 592 584

Mother and children: There is no *tapu* towards the mother. Either sons or daughters may use their mother's or sister's bed, clothes and combs.

16. Gifford 28.
17. Koch 1955: 71.
18. Gifford 1929: 39.
19. Gifford 28.

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Grandparents and Grandchildren

602 No *tapu* is observed between the grandparents and grandchildren.
603 The latter may touch the head of the former and eat the balance of their
784 food. An old man who lives with his daughter's family does not dictate
[264] to his grandchildren at all, because it is their father's concern.

Brothers and Sisters

593 Brother and sister: The relationship between them is still an out-
784 standing feature of Tongan kinship. A number of *tapu* were referred
602 by the villagers. Brother and sister should respect (*faka-apaapa*) each
[291] other. They cannot see each other naked. At ten years of age, they
[513] have to sleep separately. A brother may enter the same room as the
[516] sister, but may not talk to her without sitting down. The sister may not
[521] come into the brother's room or hut except on a special occasion such as a
[764] funeral. They may not use each other's comb, bed, clothes or suitcase.
[264] They may take a meal together, must sit separately as far as possible, and
must not use tableware in common, but if it is washed it may be used.
[516] When the brother is beside the sister he may not eat while standing. They
[195] may not lie down where they are together. When addressed, the other must
[521] reply with *koau* politely. They may talk with each other except on such
topics as a quarrel or love. When the sister is talking with someone, the
brother should keep away from her lest he should overhear the conversa-
[585] tion about an obscene matter. Each may not attend the wedding and
[764] funeral of the other. They may not dance together. The brother may
[535] not join a circle of *kava* drinking in which his sister is asked to make *kava*.
[276] The sister may cook and wash for him, but not his underwear. When
[571] one is ill and there is no one else to care for the patient, the other may
[758] nurse, but must stay as aloof as possible from the patient. At parting,
one may shake hands or kiss the cheek of the other.
[264] Elder brother and younger brother: It is *tapu* for the younger brother
to eat the food the elder brother leaves over and to wear his clothes.
Elder sister and younger sister: *Tapu* of the same nature as between
the brothers are also found in the relationship between the elder and the
[846] younger sisters. When one is delivered of a baby, the other may take
care of her.

Uncle, Aunt, Nephew and Niece

604 Towards the parallel uncle and aunt who are denoted *tamai* and *fa'e*,
602 the attitude is just the same as towards one's own father and mother. On
[601] the other hand, an uncle (or aunt) loves his parallel nephew and niece
as well as his own children.

Paternal aunt (*mehikitanga*) and nephew and niece (*fakafotu*)

601 *Fakafotu* have to show much more respect to *mehikitanga* than to
604 the father. The maximum of *tapu* is still found in their relation. They
784 may not smoke while she is near. On her funeral they may not stay in a
[774] room where the corpse is laid. *Fakafotu* may *kole* (ask) something, but
[764] will be called robbers if they take it away without her permission.
[601]

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Maternal uncle (fa'e tangata) and nephew and niece (ilamutu)

Even today the *ilamutu* has the privilege of making free with a *fa'e tangata's* possessions. A man of about sixty years old told me that he had taken a bicycle, pigs, yams and so on from his four *fa'e tangata*. All his *fa'e tangata* have passed away now, but he is still able to take similar things away from their children if he wishes. Conversely, he has several *ilamutu* of his only sister. He always locks the door of his house while he is out, for fear that the *ilamutu* should come and take away what they want. *Ilamutu* have freedom also towards *fa'e tangata's* wife from whom they can get bark clothes or mats without permission. But if she is not a good natured woman, they cannot make free with her own property. 604 602 422 601

Cousins

The *fakafotu* have to observe *tapu* towards *mehikitanga's* children, too. But the *tapu* in this case is not so strict as towards the *mehikitanga*. According to the explanation given by an old man, cousins may play together in their childhood, but brother's children may not strike sister's children and not touch their head or possessions. On the other hand, sister's children may take what they want away from brother's children and eat the foods they leave over. 605 602 784

Husband and Wife

There is no *tapu* between those who are denoted under the term *mali* each other. Those two persons who are not real husband and wife, may stay in one room together, talking about anything. 593 607 602 784

Matapula

A woman and her brother's wife may not use clothes, bark cloths, combs, mats and so forth in common. They may beat bark cloth in company and use a beating bat in common. If one were ill and there were no one to nurse, the other may care for her but it is *tapu* to attend her at the time of delivery, and to suckle her baby even if the mother can not nourish it on her own milk. 607 602 784 853

VI — ACTUAL BEHAVIOUR IN THE INTERPERSONAL RELATIONSHIP

Variation in the Behaviour

When we ask the Tongan about the kinship behaviour they should observe, they mention so and so, as described in the previous chapter. People are very proud of the custom that a brother should respect his sister, saying "This is *faka Tonga*, Tongan way." As one might suspect, there seems to be a little difference between the norm and the actual behaviour. My interpreter used to say "If a man is properly reared in Tongan way, he has respect for and supports his sister." But the norm has been losing its strictness; a man, once married, will no longer bring his sister food, money or anything she pleases, in preference to his wife. 602 83 593 602 83

KINSHIP AND BEHAVIOUR IN A TONGAN VILLAGE

578 While I was staying in the village, a quarrel occurred between a man
605 and his classificatory sister who were the second cousins. The reason for
602 their quarrel is as follows: Two girls (H and V) in the village had the
601 same boy friend. The woman (A) took the side of V, although her
brother's (B) wife (C) took the side of H, and there was a dispute be-
tween them. Then A's adopted son (D) of six years old hit B's son of
[623] two years old. Getting angry, B hit D back. So A went to law with B,
and B sued D for his violence. Since then, A, B and C, who are next
door neighbours, have remained unfriendly.

601 There is much more emphasis on correct behaviour in the case of a
602 real and direct relationship than a classificatory one. For example, the
603 brother-sister *tapu* is most strictly observed, but between cousins (classi-
[783] ficatory brother and sister) it is sometimes relaxed. Sometimes cousins
joke and laugh in loud voices in a way that is never found in the real
sibling relationship. And one dares not employ his *ilamutu* privilege
604 towards the classificatory *fa's tangata* so freely as towards his real
602 mother's brother.

128 Next we shall examine a few practices in connection with kinship
behaviour.

The Place to Sleep

583 It is said that the brother and the sister do not live usually in the
584 same house after ten or twelve years of age. In this village there are only
[343] two wooden houses having more than two rooms and the remainder are
the houses, each with only one room. A boy who reaches about the age
513 of ten is supposed either to build a hut or find some other place to sleep.
572 Out of 33 households ten have boys and girls who are older than ten
593 years. These ten households are grouped into four according to the
place where the boys sleep.

(a) in the main <i>fale mohe</i> with sisters	.....	.....	.....	3 households
(b) in another <i>fale mohe</i>	.....	.....	.....	5 households
(c) in <i>fale kai</i>	.....	.....	.....	1 household
(d) some brothers in another <i>fale mohe</i> but others with sisters	.....	.....	.....	1 household

One of (a) households has a large wooden house, permitting the boy to
sleep in a separate room from his sister, so that this case may be added
to (b).

Out of 19 boys 14 sleep apart from their sisters. Sometimes a little
boy of six years old sleeps with his elder brothers, thus separated from
his sister and parents. Among five boys who share the room with the
sisters, three are eleven years old or over. The oldest boy, the second son
of 9, is already married and lives with his father and sister of twelve years
of age in his father's house. A fourteen years old boy is the eighth son
of 5; his elder brothers are all married. He stays with his parents and his
sister of thirteen years of age in the same house. An eleven year old boy is
the first son of 3 who sleeps with his parents and elder sister of twelve
years old. So the age of girls sleeping in the same room with a brother

KINSHIP AND BEHAVIOUR IN A TONGAN VILLAGE

553 As indicated clearly in the table, most children are named by the
602 father or by one of his relations; that is 15 out of 17 first born children,
11 out of 13 second born children and 44 out of 66 third born children
[123] or the subsequent ones. It is especially noted that the first born children
were named by the paternal relations except for two who were named by
the Mormon priest and by me. The maternal relations do not play a part
in name giving until the third child is born. Among these 17 households,
five couples are in uxori-local and two couples in neolocal residence. As
regards these seven nuclear families, two first born children were named
by the father, one by the girl who is the father's mother's brother's
daughter in Nukuleka, three by one of the paternal relations in another
village and one by me. Although all five couples in uxori-local residence
live side by side or very near to the wife's family with whom they are in
close contact in their daily life, the kinsmen of the father in another
village named the baby. If they are too far away, say in Ha'apai or
Vava'u, to be asked, the father himself may name the child, or sometimes
an unrelated person, such as myself, may be asked.

553 It is common that the father gives the name to the third and sub-
604 sequent children. Yet five of them were named by those to whom the
602 children were not clearly related. 21 children, the largest number in the
total, were given the name by the father's sister. Her role is quite eminent
in the case of first and second children. Including the father's father's
sister and the father's sister's sons and daughters who may be identified
with the father's sister because they, as well as the *mehikitanga*, are of
higher rank than the baby, they name one third of the first born and a
half of the second born children. This evidenced the villager's statement
that the father's sister in general gives the name to the baby.

553 On the other hand, the maternal relations, particularly the mother's
602 brother, have only a small role in name giving. But in uxori-local re-
[604] sidence, they often play a considerable part for second and subsequent
babies. The following are two examples, of 3 with seven children, and
of 18 with nine children.

Household No.	Order of birth	Sex	Name Giver
3	1	f.	fa's mo.
	2	m.	fa's bro.
	3	f.	mo's mo's sis.
	4	f.	fa's friend
	5	m.	fa.
	6	f.	mo's mo's mo's fa.
	7	f.	mo's bro.
18	1	f.	fa's sis.
	2	f.	mo.
	3	f.	mo.
	4	f.	mo's sis.
	5	m.	mo's bro's wife
	6	m.	fa's bro.
	7	f.	mo's sis.
	8	m.	mo.
	9	m.	mo.

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The father is privileged to choose the name giver for his children. 553
The first born baby, regardless of sex, is always named by the father's 602
relations, with a special preference to the father's sister, irrespective of 593
residence. Since the second and the subsequent children are inferior in 604
birth significance to the first baby, the father may then grant a maternal
relative's desire to name a child.

VII — WEDDINGS AND FUNERALS

The rank of individuals among *famili* is emphasised on ceremonial 612
occasions such as weddings⁽²¹⁾ and funerals. I will describe these cere- 554
monial procedures from the view-point of kinship behaviour. 585

A boy tells his love to a girl, and if she agrees, he will ask his parents' 764
consent. If they do, he or his father goes to an old man closely related to 128
him to ask his favour of becoming *matapule*. Then he with the boy 584
makes a formal visit, *faitohi*, to the girl's house, taking some *kava teletele* 276
(big roots of *kava*). On *faitohi*, *matapule* tells her father that the boy 574
eagerly wishes to marry the girl. When her father is ready to accept
their proposal, he consults with her elder brother or *ulu i famili* as soon
as possible. And if he agrees to the matter (and generally the *ulu i famili*
will not object), the people concerned confirm the girl's will. The
marriage is now arranged. The *kava teletele* brought by the *matapule* is 276
prepared, around which the *matapule* and the girl's parents sit to drink. 574
The first cup of *kava* is taken to the *ulu i famili* on the girl's side, the
second to the *matapule*, the third to anyone present. A few weeks later
after *faitohi* the wedding takes place.

In the afternoon of the day before the wedding-day, the boy's father 585
cooks *umu* and roast pigs to be given to the girl's family. At the sunset, 252
the girl dresses up in formal wear such as *fihi*, *kei* (both, a kind of mat) 292
and *ngatu* (bark cloth). Inside her house is nicely arranged, bark cloths 352
and mats over the floor. Then the boy in formal dress comes with his 292
followers. The *fakalelea mali* begins now. The bride and the groom 585
sit respectively on the laps of their *fa'e tangata*. Sometimes *fakafeangai*, 276
attendants, of the bride and the groom may sit beside them. On this 574
occasion the first *kava* cup is taken by the bride,⁽²²⁾ then by the groom.
If they do not want to drink, the *fakafeangai* may drink it in place of
them. Drinking *kava*, and eating *fono* (*kava* relish, such as bread, pork, 262
and puddings of various kinds, etc.), they spend the time cheerfully
chatting until next morning. When *faikava* is nearly over, the bridegroom/
and his followers take off their clothes to give them to the bride and her
family. Through excess of joy, sometimes, they strip themselves of even
their trousers and shirts. The bride's people bring bark cloths and clothes
to cover them. The bride also takes off her dress to give to the partner.

On the morning of the wedding, they go to the town for registration. 585
Usually they hire two motor cars which they decorate with *kia*. The bride
and the bridegroom ride separately with each of their *fa'e tangata*. Other

21. Collocott 1928: 221-2. Bangisole 1941: 91-92. Koch 1955: 75-81.

22. Collocott writes that the bride who is the chief of this occasion takes the third cup, that
is the chief cup. A middle-aged woman told me that the first cup was the chief one.

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bride's mother to share the pleasure with. She was also very much pleased and gave another bark cloth to her daughter. The young couple had been staying at his parents' house until they built their own hut in the *api kolo* of his father's a few years later. Her parents eagerly wanted to bring her back for her first delivery. The first son was born under her parental roof and the new mother spent there about three months for her recuperation. On the day of its birth, her father made *umu*, including one chicken and one pig; her mother gave the baby two mats (*fala paongo* and *fala tofua*) and two sheets of bark cloth (ten *langanga* and five *langanga*); the husband's mother gave some napkins, mosquito net and cloth. 585 591 844 (591) [603] [451]

Funerals

When a husband dies, his wife, mother or brothers wash his body immediately. If the dead person is a woman, her mother, sisters or mother's sisters undertake this task, and her husband may help them. Children may touch their mother, but not their father. After they rub the corpse with candle nut oil, they put on its clothes. Nowadays, a white shirt is used as an inner wear, and it is wrapped round with bark cloth called *vala lotu*, for which any kind of new bark cloth is used. Its size is not uniform; four *langanga* is enough for a child and five to eight *langanga* for an adult. This is prepared generally by those women to whom the dead stands in a near relation, namely his wife, mother, mother's sister and so on. Some bark cloths and mats are piled in the middle of the house, on which the corpse wrapped with *valu lotu* is laid. They cover the corpse again with *ngafingafi* and *kie* which is called *feta'u*. Instead of these mats a piece of white silk may be used now as a covering of a corpse. 764 593 [604] 764

Then, they send for a steward to lead prayer. Two or three *fahu*, that is *ilamutu*, of the dead, regardless of sex, takes seats close to the head of the dead. The seat-ordering among these *fahu* does not seem to be strict. The family members and relations of the dead sit inside the room; when the dead is a man his children and sisters are excluded from the room, and her brothers are excluded when a woman dies. After the steward finishes his prayer, people express their condolence by turns, weeping and kissing. The near relations offer *fiu* and bark cloth, and the remote relations, friends and villagers deck the centre of the room with a piece of cloth and garland. On this special occasion, the children and sisters may kiss the corpse to bid farewell to the dead man, and the brothers may do the same to the dead sister. As soon as they bid farewell, they should leave the room and rest in a temporarily built shelter. All day long people mourn and neighbours stand outdoors and sign hymns. *Liongi*, that is younger brothers, *fa'e tangata* and those who are inferior in rank to the dead person, have a lot of miscellaneous works to do, for example boiling water and serving *topai* (a kind of dumpling in soup) and tea to visitors. It is the *ulu i famili* who assigns them duties. Meanwhile, one of the *liongi* prepares *kava*, and men drink until next morning. The first cup should go to T. Leka, and the subsequent cup may go to any present *matapule*. 794 [792] [593] 764 276 574

612 as fishing or storekeeping, they must migrate, either alone or with
166 their families.

621 Reasons for leaving one's native village are varied: Females leave
166 when they marry out, enter some form of higher education such as
teacher's training, or look after children who are in school either in
Nuku'alofa or in one of the two other major towns of Tonga, Pangai
in Ha'apai and Neiafu in Vava'u. Males leave to look for vacant or
undistributed land in some other part of Tonga; to look for potential
spouses; for education; for employment outside agriculture as govern-
ment clerks, police, teachers, and *faiŋekaus* ('ministers'), or in fishing
and shipping; to work abroad as laborers (there is a large Tongan
community in New Zealand); or just for 'eva pē, i.e., living among
kinsmen away from home without any specific reason. Every one of
the above reasons for leaving often involves several years, if not per-
manent, periods of absence from native villages. The increased need
for cash, the selling of copra being the only way of acquiring money
locally, and the desire for the conveniences of modern goods and
services are the 'pulls' that complement the 'push' of land pressure
which together serve as the stimuli resulting in dispersed family estates,
both within Tonga and abroad, as a major feature of modern Tongan
social structure.

602 The kin determinants of the composition of family estates derive from
554 the channels of ranked status positions in the kinship system, defined
briefly in the previous section. Anthropologists have been accustomed
to specify *mutual* rights and obligations for reciprocal role relationships
in kinship systems. However, in the case of Tongan kinship, elaborately
defined rankings of reciprocal roles necessitate the lopsided or asym-
metrical analysis of relationships in which either rights or obligations
are emphasized, but not both. Within the sibling group, older brothers
[599] have primarily rights over younger brothers, and sisters have primarily
[604] rights over brothers. For extra-familial kin, a set of siblings has rights
over mother's kinsmen (especially the mother's brothers and their
children) and obligations to father's kinsmen (especially the father's
sisters and their children).

[565] In ranked kinship relations, one party has rights and the other has
obligations which are culturally specified. The situation in the class
system is parallel: nobles have rights vis-a-vis commoners, who in turn
have obligations vis-a-vis nobles. This is not to say that individuals
holding higher rank or status have no obligations to those with lower
status. For example, Tongans emphasize the importance of 'ofa, 'love'

Regular exchanges of food after Sunday religious services occurred among domestic groups both related (in terms of recognized *kāinga* membership) and unrelated. One is as much obligated to help a friend or neighbor asking for assistance as a recognized kinsman. 621 476

Thus, concern with status differentiation, entailing either rights or obligations, does not appear to underlie exchanges among members of a *fonua*, since as putative kinsmen of the *kāinga fakafonua*, everyone is obligated to help and can request support from everyone else. The only exception to this was the occasional assertion of an 'ilamutu ('sister's child') of his/her right to the services and property of his/her *fā'tangata* ('mother's brother'). However, in this case of the exercise of particular rights associated with the occupation of a culturally defined kin status, the economic consequences are trivial. The problem of attributing observed contents of interactions and exchanges to specific kinship norms or not is a complex and theoretically important question, long ago recognized by Firth (Firth, 1936, pp. 104-117). In 'Uiha, at least, rights and obligations in economic transactions of aid and support among domestic groups are related more to the egalitarian norms of kinship amity than to the hierarchical norms of the kinship system, the latter reflected mainly in the performance of particular appropriate standards of behavior toward ranked *kāinga* members. [554] [604] [602]

There are important factors which do account for cooperation or the lack of it between domestic groups, or between individuals from different households. Obviously, in different contexts, villagers will alternately try to evade, initiate, or fulfill requests for support; the covering ideology of kinship amity and *communitas* is in no way a binding influence to which villagers uniformly adhere. To discuss these factors, it is necessary to refer to the alternative analytical perspective which views the Tongan village as a collection of segments of dispersed family estates.

In Tongan villages, individual domestic groups or households are discrete and self-sufficient units of economic activity on the land. Major flows of goods and services as assistance outside the domestic group or household occur among the dispersed kin set or family estate of which the village domestic group is a member or segment. The manner in which a domestic group responds to requests for support from neighboring households or initiates requests for support, in terms of the general kinship ideology of the *fonua*, depends significantly on such factors as (1) the economic position of a domestic group in its family estate (whether the members of households are primarily donors or [592] [554] [612])

1364]

[1777]
APPENDIX III

mother; whenever we ask'd what they were, & if very superior people, they would be surpris'd at the Question, & said they were Tamaha's, a distinguishing name higher than any, but what particular meaning is in the word, we could not find out. Although from their fathers country they might not be intitled to power & Possessions, yet their superior rank may arise from that line, as they generally admit that they are oblig'd to shew signs of respect to the Feegee chiefs, by folding their hands before their face & bowing their bodies. Women in this Country enjoy equal Privileges of honour & respect with the men, for at our Observatory there were two women who had homage paid to them by the Chiefs, & to one of them Fattafaihe used to bow: I understood this woman to be his near relation, she had her husband with her, who enjoyd none of these marks of honour.

'Eua

f. 86v. [13 JULY] . . . on the top of the hill is a circular place pil'd round with coral stones & one or two large ones in the middle, this place they call'd Etchee¹ & said it was built as a mark of Powlohow's sovereignty; there was an Excellent spring of fresh water close by it; we met in several places in the chasms of the rocks very good water & which might be conveyd down to where the Natives are, yet they do not appear to regard good water, as they in their houses always gave us indifferent & often very brackish water to drink. We were all delightd with the charming prospect from this hill; the Sea on the ~~se~~ side of the Island is but at a little distance from it & the land rises in broken hills, rugg'd & clifty, & is not capable of much improvement, but the nw part of the Island has a fine assemblage of hills & Valleys with extensive Meadows & patches of wood, with now & then a plantation; Yet this kind of Country, which we praise so much, does not answer so well the purposes of what the Natives cultivate as the flat borders by the Sea Side, so that it is in a great measure Waste; but it struck us strongly, as the best calculatd place for Cattle of all the Islands; & we thought that to make the Landscape the most charming one imaginable, would be sheep & Cattle upon the Meadows & hills before us; We rather hop'd than firmly believ'd, that the sheep which had been given to Marrawagee & now put on shore here would thrive, since the 2 Yews were very poor & the Ram quite young, however as there are no dogs yet in this Island & as the Natives do not much admire them, they stand a chance of being unmolest'd & from that circumstance may thrive & answer the purpose for which they are left.

DESCRIPTION OF THE FRIENDLY ISLANDS

[Adm 55/116, ff. 88v-89, 89v-90, with excisions]

In regard to their numbers I know of no criterion by which to make even a tolerable guess, the Natives followd us from one Island to another, before it is not possible to know the number of any one Island we visit'd; at

RANK IN TONGA 177

Behavioral correlates for the named kin types can be summarized as follows: 601 -

Avoidance—demanded of siblings and parallel cousins of opposite sex (i.e., between *tuofesine* and *tuonga'ane*) and all cross-cousins related through the father (i.e., those whom your father calls '*ilamutu*'). 602 - 612 - 554 -

Near equality—among siblings and parallel cousins of the same sex (i.e., *tokoua*).

Restraint and obedience—demanded of males and females to *mehikitanga*. *Welfare and direction*—demanded of *tamai* to their '*ofesine* and *joha*.

Satisfaction of wants, familiarity, and warmth—demanded of *fa'e* to *tama*.

Demanding and demeaning—appropriate of males and females to *fa'e tangata* and cross-cousins related through the mother (i.e., whom ego's mother calls *fakafotu*) and of females to the children of *tuonga'ane* (*fakafotu*).

No restraints—between *kui* and *mokopuna*.

These behavioral categories are based on the three principles of status outlined above: (1) those kinsmen who are related through the father have higher status than ego, while those related through the mother have lower status than ego; (2) females have higher status than male kinsmen of the same generation, which results in avoidance;⁵ and (3) elder has higher status than younger among siblings of the same sex.⁶ 602 612 554

The extension of these principles to the generation below ego results in the sister's children of a male ego being higher than his own. This category of person, his '*ilamutu* (children of his "sisters") are *fahu* to him. A *fahu* can take any of ego's possessions; for example, a *fahu* may go to ego's farm and take a pig without even asking for it. Ego is also expected to make ceremonial presentations to his *fahu*. (The closest English gloss for *fahu* is "above the law.") On the other hand, the children of ego and the children of his brothers are under his immediate direction, and he is responsible for their welfare and decisions, which he usually makes for them. Ego is not responsible in this way for his sister's children; her husband and his brothers have this responsibility. One's cross-cousins are not terminologically distinguished in ego's own generation. They are, however, distinguished in practice—ego's behavior to them is the same as the behavior of his parents, who do distinguish them terminologically. For example, if a cross-cousin is called '*ilamutu* by ego's father, ego treats this cross-cousin with the respect due to someone of higher rank, just as his father does. 612 602 605 601 [593] -

These categories are determined by birth and do not change in an individual's lifetime. Even though a man may inherit a noble's title, together with a great deal of land and material wealth, he still avoids his sister, treats his brother nearly as an equal, defers to his father's sister and gives her anything she wants, demands pigs from his mother's brother, and allows his sister's children to take any of his possessions. 612 554 602

Let us use a funeral as an example of how these categories of individuals interact. When ego dies, three groups of people assemble.⁷ Those of his father's kinsmen are '*eiki* (chief), those of his mother's side are *tu'a* (common),⁸ his wife and her kinsmen are neither low nor high. Family 612 554 764 - 602

554 is based on a hierarchical ranking of persons. All interpersonal
 [571] relationships are governed by the principles of rank. The arrange-
 [595] ments of dancers in relation to each other and to the audience
 reflects these principles.

554 The most important principle on which rank is based is a societal
 565 division which differentiates chiefs from commoners. This is further
 [643] refined in two ways: First, the most chiefly of chiefs is set apart
 and he is known as Tu'i. Second, an intermediate class between chiefs
 and commoners is matāpuke, who are ceremonial attendants to the chiefs.

554 The second and third principles of rank are derived from the
 599 ranking of siblings within the family. The most important of these is
 that sisters outrank brothers. It is only after sex of siblings is
 taken into account that elder outranks younger. Thus a girl of 12
 554 years of age will outrank her brother of 20 years of age. The exten-
 604 sion of these principles into the extended family results in sister's
 [605] children outranking brother's children. Thus father's sister is the
 highest ranking person to ego and mother's brother is lowest in
 relation to ego. Ego can take what he likes from his mother's brother,
 and must give everything he has to his father's sister.

565 The family ranking system has societal implications, for even the
 554 highest chief will be outranked by his sister and his sister's
 599 children will outrank his own. This dilemma at the top of the social
 605 system was solved in two ways. One of the ancient traditional ways
 644 was that a Tu'i's sister's child (usually the oldest daughter) had a
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- 96 -

half of these were sharing 'api tukuha with their in-laws.

The migrant appears welcome to stay in the local household as long as he wishes and it is not unusual for him to do so for several years. There is rarely any question of payment for board or for the use of 'api kolo or 'api tukuha though by mutual, unspoken understanding the migrant will supply a share of the food or contribute in other ways towards family expenses. Even when it is possible to live elsewhere and so avoid kin obligations, few choose to do so.

Table III

The Migrant and Access to Land, 1963-4

	Migrants ^a %	Total Household Questionnaire %
Registered 'Api Kolo	38	57
Registered 'Api Tukuha in Tongatapu	18	49
Registered 'Api Tukuha elsewhere ^b	13	6
Sharing 'Api Tukuha	42	25
No use of 'Api Tukuha	27	20
No use of 'Api Tukuha in Tongatapu	40	31
Number in Sample	74	107

^a Based on Employment and Household Questionnaires.

^b Application for an 'api in Tongatapu requires a previous cancellation of titles elsewhere.

The hierarchy of Tongan family relations is such that a young relative tends to feel more relaxed with close relations on his mother's side (fa'e tangata). These relations are under some obligation to him whereas he is obligated to his father's eldest sister (mehekitanga) and to a lesser extent to all his father's relations. It is natural, then, that a migrant will endeavour to stay with his mother's people. As one informant put it, "You feel closer to your mother's side because you are above them."

It is significant that few migrants considered they had any special problems of adjustment on arrival. The strength and importance of kin ties in this pattern of chain migration is best seen in the migrants' own comments:

"I had relations here. The burden was easier."

"I had no problems because my elder brother was here."

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114 Kaeppler is non-committal in discussing the nature of the relation-
612 ship between the personal kindred and the lineage system. In the quote
613 above she says the two "...can be conceptually distinguished..." and
adds the cautious statement that "...there is a great deal of inter-
action between them." One of Kaeppler's own comments suggests that the
distinction between the two is more real than conceptual.

(428)
(593)
(604) Even though a man may inherit a noble's title, together with
a great deal of land and material wealth, he still avoids his
sister, treats his brother nearly as an equal, defers to his
father's sister and gives anything she wants, demands pigs
from his mother's brother, and allows his sister's children
to take any of his possessions (1971: 177).

This statement comes closer to the position which states that an indi-
vidual's position in the lineage system has very little to do with his
relationship to his kindred.

121 The discussion above serves to illustrate that Tongan kinship per-
128 forms several functions and one cannot hope to describe kinship by fo-
cusing on one function. Below I will present a description of Tongan
kinship based on the data I collected and analyzed with the thought in
mind that different kinship functions may be fulfilled by different ide-
ologies and structures.

Kainga: A Personal Kindred

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The Kāinga is a true bilateral kindred inclusive of all consan-
guines to whom ego can trace a relationship either through his mother
or his father. Kāinga does not include affines. Kāinga is not a cor-
porate group, but a body of kinsmen may be recruited from it to act
corporately for specific occasions, e.g., weddings, funerals, and

428 agnatic ties to the most recent titleholder should succeed to the title.
424
[562] A female may be invested with the rights of a title through inheritance if there are no male heirs, but she cannot exercise those rights. She can, however, pass the title on to her male descendant.

428 The inheritance of land is codified in law and land cannot be
423 willed; rather, the heir is determined by law (Maude 1971: 112). However, exceptions to these laws are common as land is often inherited in a manner that is jurally, but not legally, binding. This is possible because a great many allotments are not registered, but held by individuals at the discretion of nobles. Under these circumstances even children of an adoptive status, not recognized by law, can and do inherit land. Alaric Maude (1971: 112-113) describes the legal aspects of land inheritance. Here I would like to present the following as an ideal case of property inheritance from an untitled deceased.

[597] After the death of a married man with children of both sexes 'all property above the ground' koloa 'ihe funga kelikeli passes into the control of his wife. She may dispose of this property as she wishes. She also inherits the rights to use the land as long as she wishes or until her death. After the death of the deceased's wife, his eldest son will usually inherit the rights of usufruct to his father's land; this is in accord with the law. Although the law does not recognize wills for land inheritance, dying men may name who they want to inherit their land. Even though such a practice is not in accord with written law, it is usually recognized and respected within the community for land that is not registered. Also unrecognized by law is the custom of

428 inheritance from MB. This procedure is followed as an aspect of the
 604 fahu relationship where ZS has the right to claim property of his MB as
 his own. Such a custom of inheritance is followed in cases where a man
 dies without sons, and so the second son of the deceased's eldest sis-
 ter can inherit, the first son inheriting from his father. These cus-
 [423] toms that are not in fact legal will probably continue as long as large
 portions of land remain unregistered.

Stranger and Friend

609 Non-kinsmen are conceptualized and categorized according to ego's
 familiarity with them. All foreigners to Tonga are muli. Tongan
 strangers to one's village are sola or vūlangi: these terms are fre-
 609 quently used in a derogatory manner. The use of these terms reflects
 628 the animosity which exists between villages and is sometimes manifested
 in fighting, particularly between boys and younger men. In many of
 these incidents the fact that one person or a group is from another
 village is enough to provoke a fight.

572 Terminologically, Tongans distinguish two broad categories of
 friends. Kaume'a are close friends and usually include only persons of
 the same sex and approximately the same age as ego. This term can be
 used to refer to friends of the opposite sex, but here implies a court-
 ing relationship. The term sō is usually used to refer to one's girl-
 friend or boyfriend. Kaume'a work and play together and freely share
 their material possessions. Kaume'a are very important to children and
 young unmarried persons of both sexes. Interaction with one's kautaha

TRADITIONAL POLITY IN TONGA 3

laua. Later, the sixth Tu'i Ha'atakalaua, Mo'ungatonga, desiring to become like the Tu'i Tonga himself and be free of the responsibilities of the *hau*, created another dynasty, the Tu'i Kanokupolu, and appointed one of his sons, Ngata, to this position in order that the latter would take over the responsibilities of the *hau*. The establishment of this third dynasty took place about the beginning of the seventeenth century (Gifford 1929:86). The responsibilities of administering the affairs of the country were thus gradually transferred to the Tu'i Kanokupolu line.

Apart from his divine sanctity, the Tu'i Tonga's position was enhanced by a marriage arrangement between the Tu'i Tonga and the *hau* dynasties. The eldest daughter of the *hau* was usually given as a *moheofo* (principal wife) to the Tu'i Tonga. As a result the next Tu'i Tonga, who was the son of the *moheofo*, would be in a relationship of *fahu*² (unlimited authority) to the *hau* who would be his maternal uncle. For this reason, when the system was at its peak, the *hau* dynasty (first the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua and later the Tu'i Kanokupolu) felt privileged and honoured to support and maintain the position of the Tu'i Tonga.

The Tongan system of land tenure rested upon the assumption that, owing to his divine origin, all land in Tonga from the beginning belonged to the Tu'i Tonga, and that the rights possessed by other chiefs therefore derived from him. In recognition of this, and also of the fact that he was regarded as the repre-

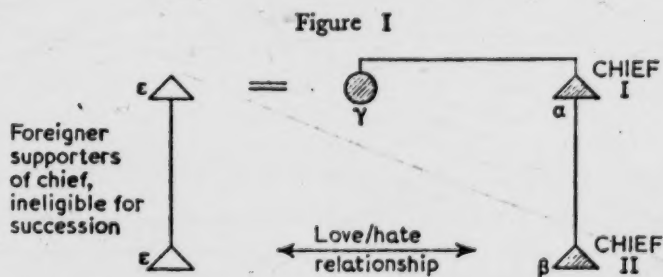
² The term *fahu* was derived from the Fijian word *vasu* which is the commoner term for sister's son or daughter. In certain areas of Fiji, the sister's male children are *vasu* and this gives them the right to inherit all the portable property of their mother's brother. Capell and Lester (1946:241-2) suggest that the *vasu* right in its simpler form came into western Polynesia from Fiji, and that the more extended form of *vasu* right also developed in Fiji and 'from eastern Fiji the right will have passed direct to Tonga, and it did so because the existing Tongan social system provided it with a ready welcome'. Their contention is supported by Tongan traditions which say the *fahu* began with the marriage of the Fijian chief, Tapu'osi, with the Tu'i Tonga Fefine (Tu'i Tonga's sister). Their children became *fahu* over the Tu'i Tonga, and theoretically over the whole of Tonga (informant, Her Majesty, the late Queen Sālote). In actual practice, the privileges of the *fahu* among commoners were severely restricted by the more powerful rights of the chiefs over commoners' property. Hence the custom was only strictly enforced by the chiefly classes (Gifford 1929:22-6; Collocott 1923b:223).

Appendix

EDMUND LEACH

The following supplementary analysis is the result of discussion between the editor and the author.

Patrilineal structures of the type represented by the reduced model shown in *Figure I* are quite familiar and have been extensively discussed in a polemical body of literature that emphasizes, as a rule, the ambiguous relationship between ϵ and his mother's brother α . In a society that stresses the theme of perpetual succession the relationship between the structural cross-cousins (β/ϵ) is interchangeable with that of mother's brother/sister's son (α/ϵ). Much of the argument deployed in Radcliffe-Brown (1924) and connected literature, as cited in Goody (1969), could be relevant to the Tongan case, and indeed Tonga features in that literature (cf. Goody, 1969, p. 81).



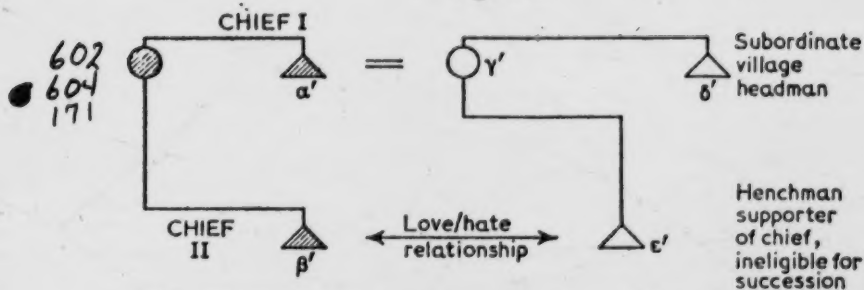
A comparable matrilineal structure is that made famous by Malinowski's discussion of the relation between the Trobriand chief and his sons and heirs. It can be represented by *Figure II*.

I.R.—U

[p. 283]

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Figure II



The Tongan structure corresponds to that of *Figure I* but with the special characteristic that, because γ has explicitly higher personal rank than α , ϵ may be of higher personal rank than β , even though β is politically superior.

[565] The relationship between the titles of β and ϵ is that of chief
[607] to matāpule. The base meaning of the term matāpule is 'sister's husband' (see note 2, p. 274). Thus the terminology corresponds to ϵ/α in *Figure I*. But, in the mythology and in the kava ceremonial, the relationship between β and ϵ is that of 'half-brother through a common mother'. If we apply this equivocation to *Figure I*, then it is at once apparent that the common mother must be γ , which is precisely the outcome of the full-scale analysis, which is developed around text *Figure 3* (p. 261).¹

[276] In assessing the relationship between this analysis and that
[574] advanced by Goody with regard to the Tongan institution of
[554] *fahu*, the reader should bear in mind that, in the case of kava ceremonial, the relationships are those of the titles and not those of actual individuals. The claims of ϵ against β are strictly mythological and it cannot possibly be argued that 'the exclusion of the sister's children from succession is in flagrant contradiction to their claims in property' (Goody, 1969, p. 81).

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of rank, but their observations add substance to the bare bones of tradition and give us tantalising glimpses of rank in action. On the second voyage for instance, Forster theorises on the origin of rank (1778: 353), while Cook tells of chiefs succeeding chiefs and of special observances between lesser and greater chiefs. Thus 'Otago' would not eat in the presence of the 'old chief', but when Cook went to deliver presents to the 'old chief' he found 'a far greater Chief no less than King of the whole Island' so great, in fact, that 'some when they approached him fell on their faces and put their heads between his feet' and 'no one durst pass him till he gave them leave' (Beaglehole 1961: 256-7). Forster writes that the 'chiefs constantly gave the presents they had received from us to the Latoo'; and, further, that 'their government has still much oriental despotism and slavish subjection to chiefs and their Latoo' (1778: 378, 379). Cook concludes that the *Lato* was the first man on the Island under whom there were chiefs over certain districts and then a third level of chiefs, of which his friend Otago was a member. This was not a bad guess, in the light of only a few days' acquaintance with a complex system—but not the correct one. For, as we have seen, the Tu'i Tonga, descendant of the god Tangaloa, was the 'King' of all the archipelago and the divine ruler.

In order to understand the treatment of the *Lato* we must first classify a second type of ranking in Tonga—that among kinsmen (*kāinga*). Starting with ego's own generation, the first principle of *kāinga* rank is that females have higher status than males. It is only after sex is taken into account that the second principle, elder outranking younger, comes into play. Thus, a girl of twelve years of age will have higher social status within the family than her brother of twenty years of age.

In the relationship of ego with his parental generation, another principle takes precedence. An individual's kinsmen are divided into two classes—the paternal kinsmen who rank higher than ego, and the maternal kinsmen who rank lower than ego. Thus in the parental generation, the highest kinsman is father's eldest sister, and of only slightly lesser status are other sisters of the father. Following these, father's brothers are distinguished in status according to age. Continuing with these principles, we see that the lowest in status are mother's brothers and only slightly higher are the mother's sisters.

The relationships of ego to members of the generation below him depend primarily on whether they are related through his sisters or his brothers. Sister's children are higher in status than ego, and this is reflected in the special term he uses for them ('*ilamutu*'), the highest of this group being his sister's eldest daughter. These kinsmen are *fahu* (i.e., 'above the law') to ego and can take any of his possessions. Ego is also expected to make ceremonial presentations, such as first fruits, to his *fahu* throughout his life. Ego's brother's children, on the other hand, are classified with his own children ('*ofefine* and *foha*) and are therefore lower than ego.

Applying these principles to the Tu'i Tonga line, we see that the Tu'i Tonga himself was outranked within his *kāinga* by his sister. She was distinguished by a special title, the Tu'i Tonga Fefine, i.e., the 'female Tu'i Tonga'. Of even higher rank were the Tu'i Tonga's sister's children, and especially her eldest daughter, who also had a special title, 'Tamaha'. On Cook's third voyage, Anderson tells us that *Latu* 'made no scruple of taking any thing from the people even if it belong'd to the King' (Beaglehole 1967: 954). In this framework we see that he was simply exercising his *fahu* relationship to the Tu'i Tonga. Thus the Tamaha had high

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unrelated chiefs such as Finau but derives ceremonial status by being related to the Tu'i Tonga through his sister.

As a final example of the complexities of Tonga's interlocking ranking systems let us look at an engraving made from an illustration by Hodges on Cook's second voyage of 'The Landing at Middleburgh' (plate 1a). We are at first a bit overwhelmed by the Greek-looking Tongans in flowing garments and European visage—reflecting certainly the European vision of the noble savage in his peaceful Utopia. Bernard Smith in his excellent discussion of this engraving (1960: 52-3) points out that it was probably Cipriani who did the figures in a Hodges landscape.⁶ George Forster criticises the picture thus: 'But it is also greatly to be feared, that Mr Hodges has lost the sketches and drawings which he made from Nature in the course of the voyage, and supplied the deficiency in this case, from his own elegant ideas' (Forster 1777: I, 427).

These critics, however, seem to miss the ethnological importance of this picture, for here we have the first (and only) depicted example of finger sacrifice. If we look closely (plate 1b), we see that several of the individuals have parts of their little fingers missing—the Tongan practice of *to'o nima*.⁷ In their accounts, the Forsters and Cook miss the real significance of the practice. Reinold Forster writes that the 'greater part of the same nation want the two first joints of one, and sometimes both the little fingers, which they cut off as marks of their grief, for deceased parents or relations' (1778: 269). Cook more cautiously tells us: 'we could not learn the cause of this mutilation with any degree of certainty, but judged it to be on account of the death of their parents' (Beaglehole 1961: 268). Anderson on the third voyage gets it almost correct—'for when they suspect themselves in danger from sickness they cut off their little finger as a propitiation to the Deity,' and that it 'is sometimes done on the illness of their chief as well as themselves' (Beaglehole 1967: 947). From later accounts, however (e.g. Martin 1818 and Gifford 1929), it is quite clear that the practice was a sacrifice within the *kāinga* by one of lower rank to cure a sickness of one of higher rank. The lowest ranking, to follow our *kāinga* ranking principles, is the mother's brother or mother's brother's children, or someone of the same kinship category. It is said that there were often arguments over who would have the honour to give the sacrifice. This sacrifice was done within the family and taken to the priest of the sick person's god. A place name in Tungua Island in the Ha'apai group is known as Tangi to'o nima, i.e., crying at finger sacrifice, and is traditionally the place where this took place on behalf of the Tamaha.

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Individuals in the group who were eligible to give finger sacrifices are also in the group who cannot eat in the presence of individuals of the higher category. This group also has specific functions at funerals—where they are known as *liongi*. Whole societal lines stand in this kind of relationship to other lines. For example, Tu'i Lakepa's line stands as 'father' to the Tu'i Ha'ateiho's line, and all individuals of Tu'i Ha'ateiho's line must treat those of Tu'i Lakepa's line as one would treat a 'father'. Further, the Tu'i Tonga's line must treat both Tu'i Lakepa and Tu'i Ha'ateiho as one would treat a sister's child, because the Tamaha came from these lines (i.e., Fale Fisi). This situation is especially intense at the chiefly level. Cook was disappointed at the mourning ceremony he attended but his description is invaluable. His account would seem to indicate that the ceremony was not for the king's son,

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A. [See End Plate 1, following p. 220--Analyst]

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[891] The ancient Tongan kinship terms have remained alive. Though English is taught in the village schools, of all inhabited islands European kinship concepts have not been adopted, and even rather competent English-speaking natives have considerably difficulty explaining their relationship to a particular person to whites who are unfamiliar with the language of their country. Without going into the complexity of Tongan kinship terms more deeply, (205)

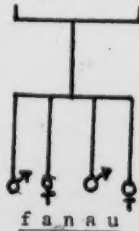
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205. These terms have been described in detail by Gifford (compare E. W. Gifford, Tongan Society /cited in English/. pp. 27 ff. and elsewhere.

let us give here a brief survey of the more immediate family:

Person of the highest rank

<u>mehekitanga</u>	<u>tama'i</u>	<u>tama'i</u>	<u>fa'e</u>	<u>fa'e</u>	<u>fa'e</u>
("aunt" oldest sister of father)	("uncle" brother of father)	("father")	("mother")	("aunt" sister of mother)	<u>tangata</u> (tu'a-sina) ("uncle" brother of mother)



(children, progeny)

↑
Designations from the point of view of the children!

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554 The mehekitanga, the father's (eldest" sister is the most important of all the persons mentioned here. The children of the family have the greatest respect for her, and this is still to be seen in certain rules of avoidance; for example, the children are not permitted to eat any food of the mehekitana. (206)

206. Also, no part of the same orange, for instance.

/71 cont./

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554 Their feelings are therefore freer and more natural toward their maternal aunt, the fa'e (sister of the mother), whom they generally love more. The /72/ brothers of the father (tama'i) enjoy a high position. Above all, his oldest brother is a leading authoritative personality in the family. His advice is followed, as in old times. Those who disregard it are looked upon by the public as "badly brought up." The fa'e tangata or tu'a-sina is the person of lowest rank. The children (207)

207. Boys as well as girls; the younger ones, if need be, must give way to the older ones.

of his sister(s) have all kinds of privileges with regard to him. (208)

208. For the children in the female line these even extend to the children of this uncle.

These are symbolically displayed in public when, at wedding feasts, they may sit on the lap of their tu'a-sina, and even empty a cup of kava over him. In everyday life, according to ancient Tongan custom, one is entitled to take from this uncle's possessions whatever one likes or needs (with or without asking for it). Everyone knows that a
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425 Tongan law of almost seven decades forbids this and punishes it as
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[685] "theft"; yet in the small villages of the remote islands people still quite generally take from their mother's brother whatever they happen to want. It is only in the urbanized seaports where, through trade
[177] with whites, the European idea of property has become more common (good on payment only), and among the rising generation who are having a more intensive schooling, people have become more thoughtful and no longer, without hesitation, appropriate things of greater or medium value. However, most Tongans help themselves when they are with their tu'a-sina. They will eat their fill at his place, fetch products from his planting, and also take objects, pigs, chickens, etc. To be sure, they will often first ask, that is, they will announce their wish or intention, and will, on occasion, even pay,

/72 cont./

604 as they see fit, for a pig they have taken. Some Tongans will also
425 take something belonging to their uncle without asking him, and feel
that such acts are not stealing, since they will openly answer their
uncle's questions about his lost property.--The author met a Tongan
on 'Uiha who, as recently as 1937, took a house belonging to his
uncle. (209)

209. Many a tu'a-sina will also voluntarily give
pleasure to his nephew with more important
objects.

604 In a few families where there has been a rift this old custom is
425 naturally not acted upon, since the taker will have to reckon with
685 the fact that the "injured" one will react with a legal complaint
578 (if he dares do so within the village community). The extremely
604 wide range of this custom which even today, in spite of almost seven
425 decades of contrary European influence among all classes, still
177 prevails (though to some extent relaxed) shows how very much the
178 Tongans can cling to their ancient social order.

592 As in former times, the family in a wider sense still has an
554 eldest (ulu i he famili) who has a certain control over the entire
/73/ group of kin (in the paternal line) and acts authoritatively
on important occasions. For example, in case of a death he calls
together the individual related families and consults with them
about the nature and procedure of the funeral ceremony. This
"eldest is often the grandfather's (oldest) brother or the latter's
592 oldest son. Today, however, age does not seem to be the only
554 decisive factor in the succession, since middle-aged Tongans may
556 absolutely assume the position of "eldest" by reason of their
178 wealth in material goods and their greater influence resulting
from it. Even though, in former times as well--according to the
memory of various individuals--, Tongans achieved the position

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276 father likewise makes known his positive decision, the wedding day is set, (220)

220. For example, in a week; sometimes also a few days later, so that no other youth will "run away" with the girl.

kava is drunk, the details are discussed and the gathering breaks up.

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[431] In case the girl or her father (or both) reject the proposition, the young man's party returns home immediately and, in most cases, leaves behind the gifts that were brought. The latter are sometimes returned to the suitor. The matter is then dismissed, unless the girl who is willing to marry persuades her father to change his mind, or the two young people decide on a flight marriage (see p. 66).

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[178] This method of courtship, despite all formality, appears to be the changed, simplified, "modern" way. The undoubtedly older form of courtship, in which, since in old times, /77/ the brothers of the father had the last word and an important role, also still exists, especially, of course, in the villages of the small islands. In [431] this case the paternal uncle of the young man eager for marriage goes to the paternal uncle of the girl he has chosen, and takes along kava and food (earth oven: pig and produce from the plantings; today also more often in the modern manner, a large canister of zwieback or a number of loaves of white bread). There he asks the girl's uncle for [276] his consent to the marriage; however, usually he is not given an answer immediately, but after a kava drink they part, for the paternal uncle or the girl must first ask her. After three or four days or after a week the young man's uncle again visits the girl's uncle and is given the answer. This is, of course, "yes" if the girl and her uncle consent. The answer is negative if the girl is disinclined. In case the uncle rejects the proposal, but the girl is in favor of it, the answer may be positive (lost authority of the paternal uncle?),

/77 cont./

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604 especially if the girl's family do not wish her to change her mind. If the outcome is positive the two paternal uncles decide on the date of the wedding.

In any case, the consent of the girl is essential. This is probably similar to conditions in ancient Tonga, for Mariner reports that the majority of women married of their own free will. (221)

221. That is to say, those who, in his opinion, did not belong to the group of women two-thirds of whom/one-third? see footnote 216 F. S./^A were betrothed in early childhood to men of higher rank (J. Martin, loc cit. II. p. 167).

584 Until the wedding, the bridegroom then mostly visits his bride every evening while her parents are asleep, and chats with her especially about the forthcoming festival. Nothing else happens. However, it may also come about that the partners marry without ever having talked together previously (the older custom?). In some cases
[584] the father of the bridegroom sends food and kava every evening until
[431] the wedding day to the girl's place (for her and her parents); the
[296] bridegroom and his relatives go there, drink kava, chat and sing (and dance).

585 On the day of the wedding, the bridegroom dons his best vala and
292 his best shirt, in addition to several ta'o-vala (of the finest quality: the kie Tonga). (222)

222. Compare p. 310-312.

hangs one or two sisi kakala (223)

223. Compare p. 82-84.

around his shoulders and fetches his bride, who is wearing a particularly fine dress and likewise some three kie Tonga and sisi kakala, from her place in order to go with her to the registrar (or to ride if the latter is in another village or on another island) where the official marriage certificate is drawn up. Several /78/ relatives

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602 ^A (See footnote 216 on p. 108--Analyst)

/79 cont./

585 which all the guests seat themselves along with the couple who occupy
574 the place of honor, namely the chieftain's place. Even at a simple
[554] wedding there may be 80 persons assembled. It is now three or four
585 o'clock in the afternoon. Kava is prepared, (226)
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226. See page 144ff.

and the bride, as the principal person, is given the most honorable,
third cup, even if it is a wedding of commoners and a chief is present
as a guest. In this kava circle the bride and bridegroom sit on the
laps of their respective maternal uncles (tu'a-sina). Following this,
[604] the mats and tapa brought as gifts by the two kinship groups are dis-
585 tributed, after the bridal couple have received their share, and
574 the contents of the earth oven (or ovens, see above) are distributed
431 among the relatives of the bride and groom. This food is not immed-
iately eaten (or only part of it) while most of it (227)

227. Sometimes a regular meal is eaten.

585 is taken home. The bride also goes to her paternal home along with
her relatives, while the bridegroom remains behind.

It is only on the following evening, or even after two or three
[177] days, that the bride returns with her relatives; her mother or her
mother's brother (tu'a-sina) carries her bed (mats, (228)

228. They consist chiefly of the fala paongo,
fala tutu'ila, fala fihu.

tapa and usually a European sheet and pillow) into the house of the
bridegroom. The relatives (229)

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[602]
[178] 229. According to the original custom, only
older women who acted as witnesses; today,
however, a rather large circle of individuals
of both sexes.

of both sides gather together in a kava circle which lasts into the
night, amid talking and singing: they are waiting for the marriage
to be consummated. The next morning, the sheet (or tapa) is

/81 cont./

844 ma'uli (the Tongan midwife). Her mother and her sister are also
 fetched if they can be reached. --The newborn child is washed and
 rubbed with Tongan oil (lolo Tonga). /82/ Rubbing with turmeric
 178 (kurkuma) (235)

(113)

235. Compare J. Wilson, Missions-Reise in das
 sudliche stille Meer /Mission journey to the
 South Pacific/, translated from English by D.
 Canzler. Berlin. 1800. page 396; J. Martin,
loc. cit. II. p. 273; E.W. Gifford, Tongan
 Society. p. 185.

is apparently no longer practiced, neither in the case of the child
 nor the mother. The old custom of burying the umbilical cord is,
 however, still widespread it is, of course, omitted in hospital
 births. The umbilical cord, after it is cut off, is wrapped in a
 piece of tapa or feta'aki (raw tapa) (also possibly in a piece of
 European cloth) and buried near the house by the father, in a hole
 approximately 3/4 to 1 1/2 meters deep. In order to mark the spot,
 it is buried under a tree, for example, or else a stone is placed
 on the spot, or a flower or a sapling are planted on it. Even in a
 village like Fungamisi, the settlement bordering the seaport Neiafu,
 this custom is still commonly observed. Many people forget the place
 where their children's umbilical cords are buried, while, on the other
 hand, very modern and progressive Tongans keep careful track of the
 spots.

553 If the child's father is present, the child is given a name
 on the day of its birth. If the father happens to be on a trip to
 another island, his return is awaited. According to the old
 604 custom, the father's sister (mehekitanga) names the child (chooses
 its name). The father himself can also give the name, but not the
 mother of the child.

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Birth was and is, in general, not connected with special

000 /305 cont./

especially in building of "bath houses." In the care of their bodies there is a certain change to be noted--as in Tonga--through European influences (soap, towel) and their continued use of the ancient body oil.

Their hair style has likewise changed, for the Fijians--like the Tongans--often cut their hair short nowadays in the European fashion, and the old, puffed-out hair style is seen rather seldom. The clothing of these natives--like that of the Tongans--has also changed very much as a result of missionization and the importation of textiles; however, the younger Fijians wear pants (shorts /cited in English/) far more than is customary in the other Archipelago. Old articles of adprnment are scarcely seen any more among the natives of both sexes; the change, the loss in this area is even greater than among the

Tongans. Tatooing, which was little practiced in former times in Fiji has probably been forgotten everywhere, and does not live on in "modern" form as on the Tonga Islands. However, circumcision is apparently still commonly practiced among the Fijians and, as in Tonga, is today a custom that the natives adhere to without attributing to it a deeper significance.

In the social sphere it is to be noted, first of all, that in Fiji--exactly as in Tonga--marriage has been given a Christian basis as a result of the missionization of the natives. A freer conception of married life is, however, to be observed here as in the Archipelago under comparison. On the Fiji Islands, too, the custom of brother-sister avoidance is apparently still rather strictly observed, whereas the old "privileged position in relation to the mother's brother" survives in a weaker form than in Tonga--perhaps because of more drastic colonial legislation. The Fijians, like the Tongans, have kept their classificatory kinship terms. The festivals at the stages of life (birth, nuptials, death), as in the Tonga Archipelago, show